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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

STRESS AND SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE IN A NEW TOWN

by



R. Bruce Morrison

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE  
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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA  
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled STRESS AND SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE IN A NEW TOWN submitted by R. BRUCE MORRISON in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.





## DEDICATION

to Dr. K.N. Bryant in  
appreciation for his contributions  
to my career as an Anthropologist.



## Abstract

This dissertation is an inquiry into the processes of human adaptation to sudden dramatic changes in the bio-physical, social and cultural environments of two populations. It is argued that such sudden environmental change produces high levels of stress. This stress or culture shock results from the cognitive disorganization associated with rapid environmental change. During the formative period of New Towns in which large groups of strangers are suddenly brought together in a new environment, culture shock is seen as having an important influence upon individual behavior and motivation.

Grande Cache, a New Town in Alberta was studied both during the formative period and for several years there after. The effects of culture shock are explored for both the Euro-Canadian residents of the New Town and the indigenous Metis-Cree of the area. Their separate paths are compared and contrasted both in terms of the conditions they encountered and their means of adaptation to stress.

The impact of culture shock upon the residents of the area is discussed in terms of the administrative and political decisions which created the town and which later influenced the residents adaptation. The discussion then deals with the interconnectedness of policy, administrative decision making and both individual and group responses to sudden change.

A thorough understanding of the culture shock phenomenon in the New Town setting not only increases our knowledge of socio-culture change but may permit the development of more humane



procedures and policies vis-a-vis New Towns.



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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

An important feature of Canada's industrialization has been the exploitation of mineral resources, often in far flung places. During the Cariboo and Klondike gold rushes, for example, miners moved into what had previously been almost empty hinterland areas. Inevitably towns sprang up along the routes to and in these areas, supplying the subsistence and recreational needs of the miners. Barkerville, Dawson, and Whitehorse are well-known examples of such towns.

The populations of these towns were highly mobile, with little sense of community obligation. Sometimes collective efforts to provide charity or support for the less fortunate met with the resistance of stubborn individualists. The population was made up of many diverse nationalities suddenly thrown together in their pursuit of wealth. There were Canadian, Americans, Australians, New Zealanders, English, Irish, Scots, and various European groups as well as Chinese and Negros (Clark 1968:81-89).





Between 1864 and 1956 over 163 single resource towns had been built. Many more have been built since (Jacobson 1962). Since World War II, mineral development in Canada's more isolated areas has assumed a great importance. The development of these resources demanded suitable services and accommodations for those who worked there. In recent years there have been attempts to provide planned settlements for the employees rather than the laissez-fair accumulation of shacks which characterized the "Boom Towns" of yesteryear.

The construction of new towns, however, is neither unique to Canada nor to the industrial era. Indeed, the industrial new town is but one type of new town. New towns have been developed throughout history at different periods in the evolution of civilization. Galantay (1975:2) offers the hypothesis that the need for new towns occurs in transitional phases in the evolution of society. He suggests that each "new town wave" represents an effort to develop a new community structure that would correspond to the changed economic base of the society. Galantay (1975:1) further characterizes new towns.

New towns are planned communities consciously created in response to clearly stated objectives -- town creation as an act of will presupposes the existence of an authority



or organization sufficiently effective to secure the sites, marshall the resources for its development, and exercise control until the town reaches viable size.

New towns have an identifiable date of birth which may be the day of the designation of their site as the day of a formal act of foundation bestowing legal or ritual existence to the new community. The "Eden" of the town is formalized in a plan prepared before the site is altered by the arrival of the first new residents. Once started, new towns are rapidly built to achieve "critical mass" within the crucial initial time span. The process is an sharp contrast to the genesis and evaluation of the towns of an "organic" or agglomerate type which emerges from preurban nuclei, and grow by a slow and sometimes disjointed process of uncoordinated actions.

In his typology of new towns, Galantay distinguishes between colonial towns and capital cities, the former of which are of uppermost importance in the worldwide process of urbanization. He goes on to distinguish two purposes of colonization. The first is the exploitation of location-bound human and natural resources. The second purpose is the decongestion of urban centers, thus permitting a certain demographic and ecological balance in the cities. Of the five types of colonial towns he categorizes, mining and industrial towns are most relevant to this study.



The development of industrial new towns often seems to be fraught with both human and technological difficulties. Curiously, the planners seemed to equate the human problems only with technical solutions. That is they seem to relate living satisfaction in new towns solely with the provision of urban amenities. But, first, let us look at some of the problems. Galantay (1975:38) writes

There were obvious advantages to locating the new towns close to the source of raw materials but this may impose the selection of a site in harsh and inhospitable climates. Kitimat (Canada) is exposed to incessant rain, snow, and winds; Varkuta (USSR) in the 65th parallel north is built in permafrost ground; in Areashahr (Iran) summer temperature exceeds 42 degrees centigrade ...

Naturally, technology must be adapted to cope with the particular difficulties encountered. It is the difficulties encountered in developing a stable population or work force that appears less amenable to solution. In general terms Galantay (1975:39-40) describes both the problem and the planners' solutions.

The recruitment of population poses a problem particularly in remote areas with extreme climates. In developing countries the building of a new town is more likely to trigger off spontaneous migration but it is difficult to attract the skilled workers, technicians, and administration staff. Antagonism develops easily





between construction workers and the skilled workers employed in the town-forming industry of this second group is favored in the allocation of housing and amenities.

At least initially, industrial towns suffer from a lack of female employment, which leads to an unbalanced sex ratio with men far outnumbering women. To achieve equilibrium, labour intensive light industry must be provided. In market economies this is difficult to achieve since the secondary industries would have to offer wages and fringe benefits of comparable level with basic industry and are thus priced out of the market.

Unless the town offers a pleasant living environment, the industry will suffer from a high turnover of key personnel. Since a stable work force is essential for the efficient operation of industry, the quality of the physical environment must be recognized as an important factor for successful development.

Indeed, high mobility was a characteristic of the "Boom Towns" described by Clark (1968:81-89) earlier in this section and it seems to be a permanent characteristic of Canadian new towns. Some writers pass it off as a characteristic of the first or early phase of development, emphasizing that construction workers are rather transient anyway and that when families begin to arrive things start to settle down. Marsh (1970:21) writes





The initial population is comprised almost exclusively of male construction workers employed in building the industrial plant and townsite. This group is made up of recent immigrants, transient construction workers, and part-time construction workers supplementing for income. Labour turnover during this period was extremely high, running around 15-50% per month in Elliot Lake, Chiefly because of the nature of the work, isolation, and climate...

At the start of actual production or development of the resources, each of the towns incurred a period of population adjustment, as permanent employees moved in and occupied the townsite, and construction workers left. As the majority of single men were replaced by married men with families, the population became more stable and began to resemble that of an ordinary urban community.

The adjustment to a new town is not completely tranquil. Since the towns lack a history and, thus, a population base, many of the recruits or settlers arrive together, strangers to each other and their new environment. Lucas describes the characteristics of resettlement, of management personnel and worker recruits.

The shifting of the personnel and their families is responsible for the peculiar social characteristics of the community of a single industry in the second stage.<sup>1</sup> The new personnel for a new plant in an isolated area have many resemblances to construction workers. People from various ethnic and religious backgrounds,

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<sup>1</sup>Lucas is referring to the settlement of workers and management as distinct from construction personnel.



with differing educational attainment and social statuses, are brought together in an isolated community. At the beginning all are strangers to each other. (Lucas 1971:47)

Echoing Lucas' description, Marsh wrote

However, the impermanent and unsettled atmosphere did not end completely after the temporary construction period; it lingered on after the actual production stage was underway. Several factors may have accounted for this. For one, it takes time for a new group of people to "settle in, forming a cohesive community"; and when upwards of half of them only recently immigrated to Canada itself, the problem of acclimitization is even more acute. Also, there was the "boom" philosophy that prevailed everywhere in Canada in the post-War period and especially in these new resource towns was an atmosphere of easy money, extended credit and general optimism was bound to create a get-rich-quick, then get out attitude. Not to be discounted is the uncertain economic future of the town which continually haunts the residents and makes them feel uneasy about settling in permanently. (Marsh 1970:21)

Lucas (1971:47) characterizes the new population as having a split between labor and management. The manager moving to a new town is considered part of normal career rotation while workers don't have the vested interests of the management. Lucas then equates high turnover with a general insecurity which pervades the town. However, he is not clear as to which is the chicken and which is the egg.



Marsh (1970:23) in describing the "stranger" phenomenon in Canadian New Towns reports offers the following observation.

First of all, the residents are strangers to one another. Having come from a variety of places, countries and backgrounds, the inhabitants suddenly find themselves close neighbors to complete strangers. There is seldom anyone nearby with whom they have grown up; the family next door might not even speak the same language; and there are none of the friendship groups which result from those long and close contacts found in the ordinary community.

Various writers have suggested that maintaining the stable population necessary for industrial development is difficult in a new town setting. High labor turnover is described as characteristic of the early phases of development and even for awhile after more potentially stable groups (i.e., married citizens) replace the construction workers. Reasons given for this turnover vary from characterizing some of the residents as get-rich-quick opportunists who leave as soon as they have made their money to focusing on the dilemmas of the worker who has little investment in the move and who is confronted by strangers of widely different backgrounds. Insecurity is said to characterize the feelings of the residents. Inherent





in these descriptions is the notion that eventually everything will all shake down. The confirmed transients will leave, the age-sex structure will stabilize and people will get to know each other. Two further ingredients in the process of town development are the provisions for recreation activities and physical facilities. This laissez-faire approach to the development of a new town society ignores the fact that a variety of conditions encountered in a new town may demand individual and collective choices which later on affect the critical path of a new town.

In 1973 a public inquiry was held in the New Town of Grande Cache, Alberta.<sup>2</sup> The inquiry was called because of a recent mine lay off. During the course of the hearings it became evident that the new town suffered from more than mine production problems. Labor turnover continued to be high despite provisions for new homes and recreational facilities. The early construction bonanza phase for construction workers had passed as well. Similarly, the get-rich-quick types reportedly had mostly left. Yet, there were production problems at the mine, which were not all the result of technological dilemmas. There were serious problems at the schools, parental concerns about teenagers and family dissension.

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<sup>2</sup>The Crump Commission was convened to investigate the inability of the mine and the community to examine the nature of government commitments to the mine and community, to review the current application for the opening of a strip mine and to refer policy recommendations to the government.





It is obvious from the foregoing discussion that Canadian industrial new towns differ significantly from the varieties of other human settlement usually studied by social scientists. In these new towns numbers of diverse people are suddenly brought together in an environment that is significantly different for many of them. Lucas (1971:18) makes the point well.

Canadian communities of single industry are distinctly and fundamentally different from the long list of famous communities studied in the United States of America. All of those community studies have a theme which suggests explicitly or implicitly that in the past each autonomous community maintained itself through the work of independent hoers of rows who hoed in rustic simplicity while independent craftsmen made beautiful but useful objects.

He goes on to point out that such communities were viewed as exemplifying the Jeffersonian ideal of rural democracy. Changes occurred to the rural utopias in the form of railways, industries, wars, or whatever. The studies then compared these changes against the romantic images of the past.

In the study of a new town, however, the focus is upon the present to explain the present. The questions



asked are not how external conditions or forces affect the relations and traditions of a well-established social order but how do diverse peoples adapt to conditions of sudden, socio-cultural and environmental change.

This thesis examines the adaptation of the people of the New Town of Grande Cache, Alberta. The category "People of the New Town of Grande Cache" is a broad one for it includes not only those brought to the area as a result of resource development, but also the native people indigenous to the area. The thesis in effect compares the impact of the town on the two groups.

The study of the town began in 1970 and proceeded in various stages until the present. This thesis is not an attempt at theoretical verification in the traditional sense. That is, the researcher did not approach the town study in terms of testing hypotheses derived from what Glazer and Strauss (1967) would call "speculative" theory. At the time, this did not constitute a serious choice of one method of investigation or explanation over another because of its inherent methodological superiority. Rather, it was decided that there simply was not a sufficient body of knowledge on Canadian new towns to allow for such precise formulation. Moreover, it was felt that it would be more productive to employ procedures which allowed for a more flexible assessment of new town phenomena. The implications of such procedures and their relation to legitimate scientific explanation will



be the topic of another chapter. The reasons for mentioning it at this time is simply to introduce the "logic in use" of this thesis.

Chapter II presents the theoretical argument used in the thesis. It would be wrong to interpret this chapter as an a priori theoretical statement which constituted the raison d'etre for the research. Rather, it is a statement of a conceptual framework which emerged from the research as well as its theoretical linkages to other bodies of knowledge. It was arranged in the front of the thesis so that the reader would be familiar with the categories used to organize the data. Chapter III describes the methods employed and argues for the validity of this form of explanation. Chapters IV, V, and VI consider the conditions which led to the development of a new town, the conditions extant before the new town, and the processes of adaptation employed by the Eurocanadian new town residents and the Metis-Cree of the surrounding area. A primary focus of the ensuing discussion is the relationship between stress, which occurs as a result of the inappropriateness of cultural knowledge in a given context, and the process of cognitive reorganization which occurs as individuals strive to devise a more appropriate body of cultural knowledge with which to interpret experience and generate behavior.





## CHAPTER II

### COGNITION, STRESS, AND SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a theoretical framework for the presentation of data which is to follow. It will be argued that new industrial towns (Boom towns) in Canada present conditions, during their formative years, which are different in scope and scale from conditions prevailing in well established towns. These conditions require the consideration of stress as a factor in explaining the socio-cultural changes which subsequently occur.

#### A New Alberta Town

In 1969 construction began on a new industrial town in the foothills of Alberta. The town was built under the auspices of the provincial government to house the men and their families employed by the McIntyre-Porcupine Company. Like many Canadian single enterprise towns, Grande Cache was located in a remote, wilderness setting, the only prior





residents being about 220 Metis-Cree. These native people had occupied the area for a considerable time, seeking a livelihood as hunters, trappers, guides, and as occasional wage laborers.

The residents of the new town were recruited from diverse socio-cultural backgrounds. They came as soon as suitable accomodation was ready for them. Some of the men came first, leaving their families for several months until accomodations were available. Others made the journey with their families. Also on the site were large numbers of transient construction workers. During the construction phase some of the Metis were employed in the town site clearing brush or working at various construction tasks.

Single enterprise towns are an important type of Canadian community. Within this broad category, industrial new towns represent an increasingly large sub-type, given the current explosion in the Canadian resource development field.

Not all industrial towns are developed like Grande Cache, from wilderness to suburb, almost overnight. Yet, the development of Canada's resources often does occur in remote settings. Once the extraction or processing facilities, are operation, there is an urgent need to



begin production. Sometimes these industrial demands seem to dictate the almost immediate creation of a residential center, a new town.

A significant feature of these overnight suburbs is that they necessitate the sudden contact of peoples with widely divergent socio-cultural traditions in an environment that is probably strange to most of them, thus generating potential for socio-cultural change. These conditions, common to new towns, are different in scale and scope from those affecting other communities. That is, the changes are so comprehensive and so pervasive that they must be considered as representing a special case. Under these "special" conditions, then, how can socio-cultural change be explained?

### Discussion of Literature

The literature upon which this argument is based deals with two ethnographic areas and two theoretical areas. The ethnographic literature includes new town studies and native culture change on the basis of Eurocanada contact while the theoretical areas are cognitive anthropology and stress.

#### New Towns

Research into the socio-cultural features of Canada's industrial new towns is still in its infancy



despite the fact that new towns have been and continue to be an important part of Canadian industrialization.

One of the first comprehensive studies of Canadian new towns, Single Enterprise Communities in Canada, appeared in 1953. Sponsored by Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, the study identified some one hundred and fifty-five single enterprise communities which had a population exceeding 189,000. The term, single enterprise community, was adopted for the purposes of the study because the authors felt that it was more comprehensive and descriptive than either "company town" or "new town". Their definition applies to those "communities which have come into being by reason of the decision or action of a single enterprise, be it an industry, government agency, defence establishment, or transportation system" (p. 15).

Their study appears to be geared to the town planner, be he a company man, government official or whatever. The recommendations presented cover such topics as site selection, planning, administration, housing policies, and recreation. Implicitly, the recommendations warn against the total control of community activities by the company. In Chapter 15, "Social Problems", the authors deal with the specific facilities necessary for certain "problem groups" such as wives, adolescents and pensioners.





The next major study appeared nine years later. Like its predecessor, Robinson's book, New Industrial Towns on Canada's Resource Frontier, seemed geared to those concerned with the manipulation and arrangement of the physical rather than social realities of new towns. Chapters concerning site selection, administration and town plan and design are typical of the content. This study differs from the earlier one in that it limits itself to a specific category of single enterprise communities, the industrial new town. A chapter on "Social Structure" presents a discussion of some of the dilemmas concerned with life in new towns, but does not comprise in any sense a socio-cultural study.

Minetown, Milltown, Railtown (Lucas 1971) is undoubtedly the most comprehensive study of Canadian industrial towns so far. Lucas excludes agricultural, fishing, hunting, or trapping market towns, county seats, and tourist resorts from his discriminating category, "communities of single industry." Within his terms of reference, his discussion of the literature is exhaustive. Moreover, he relates his discussion to the literature on Canadian community studies in general, as well as the classic American studies. As a result of interviews and





mailed questionnaires over a period of almost twenty years, Lucas argues that there are common underlying traits or patterns which are intrinsic to communities of single industry and with a population under 30,000. Although Lucas does discuss the social relations in new towns, his work suffers from what he considers one of its attributes, that is, its generality. By focusing upon those behaviors which are common to all Canadian towns within this category, he is unable to provide sufficient depth or detail to the study of any one new town. The lack of baseline studies prevents an in-depth comparison of communities in terms of specific characteristics or approaches.

Another source of information concerning New Towns has been the Center for Settlement Studies at the University of Manitoba. The Center was established to provide information about:

- a) the principles which may now be governing the establishment and development of settlements in Canada's resource frontier area;
- b) the principles which could provide a basis for developing optimal living conditions in these communities in the future (Second Annual Report (1969:83)).

The Center researchers documented twenty variables which were considered keys in understanding what conditions made for satisfying living in frontier resource communities. Presumably, this discrimination was made upon the basis of the existing literature on Canadian single enterprise (industrial) communities.



The studies published under the Center's auspices, then, are necessarily particularistic, that is, they have focused upon one or another of these variables, often contrasting and comparing their influence within an area or region (Jackson & Poushinsky 1971; Deprez & Sigurdson 1969; DuWors, Beaman & Olmsted 1971). There were some exceptions. Matthiasson (1970) and Reid and Frideres (1971) studied particular features of a new town rather than making broader comparisons. Apparently no one has yet studied a new town in terms of the relation of the parts to the whole. More to the point, no one seems to have studied the social processes which occur when a new town is built. The lack of baseline studies and the growth of highly specific studies suggests that scholars, Lucas withstanding, must assume that Canadian single industry towns are little different than Canadian communities and therefore do not warrant in-depth study.

There are two additional studies of the social aspects of new town life which are often referred to by commentators on Canadian communities. Hall's The Social Consequences of Uranium Mining (1957) is a discussion of a visit to Elliot Lake, apparently during its construction phase. The article is based upon a joint, two-day visit by various professional and government representatives.



They take note of the possible social effects of the new town, Elliot Lake, on a smaller neighboring community, Blind River, and make suggestions based upon the future town plan. It does not, however, represent a study of the social consequences of uranium mining.

Derbyshire's (1960) comments are based upon a much more solid base of information. Studying the town of Schefferville in Quebec, he notes the usual new town characteristics of an unbalanced sex ratio and high labor turnover. Established in 1953, Schefferville was already a well-established company town by the time Derbyshire visited it. He pointed out that the population was heterogeneous and that many people move to the town primarily to make money. He carefully documents the structural relations in the town and its relation to the all-important company. Since this is meant to be a brief comment, one does not gain a full or complete picture of the social relations in the town. This is not meant as a criticism of Derbyshire but of the need for more complete studies. His article is perhaps most relevant to company towns in the traditional sense rather than towns which are developed under government auspices, although there are, no doubt, similarities.

There are, then, serious gaps in the literature on Canadian new towns, and, more specifically, on the forma-





tive processes of new towns.

### Eurocanadian Contact and Native Culture Change

Earlier in this discussion it was mentioned that native people inhabited the Grande Cache area prior to the construction of the town. Since the provincial government did nothing to prepare them for the sudden arrival of an "overnight" suburb and 3,500 Eurocanadians, they were shocked when the industrialization and settlement began. Their natural environment was drastically altered and they found themselves face-to-face with a vast horde of strangers. Their past experience had little prepared them for such intense and continuous contact.

In recent years native people in many of the more remote areas of Canada have experienced increased contact and accelerating demands for socio-cultural change.

The Second World War signalled the beginning of a new type of contact situation for northerners. Southern Eurocanadians were sent to the north to construct and man military establishments and transportation systems. These were basically transient young men sent to the north for specific periods of time. Their impact upon the native





peoples with whom they came in contact was significantly different from that of the trader, priest, or government representative. With the onset of the Cold War in the fifties, a new whirl of outpost construction began. About the same time resource development and industrial expansion began in earnest. Opportunities for native employment multiplied and some natives moved to the new settlements or developments to take advantage of the employment opportunities. Contact potentially increased in scale and duration.

The effects of this contact on the native life were of considerable interest to social scientists. Writing about the Indians of Snowdrift, which is located along the southwestern shore of Great Slave Lake, Van Stone (1963) noted significant changes in the natives' trapping patterns as a result of the availability of wage labour and governmental services such as welfare, schools and housing. Elsewhere Van Stone (1960) describes the effects on Eskimo social organization resulting from the availability of wage labor in Alaska. In both of these cases the contact either occurred away from the village setting or was on a small scale.

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<sup>1</sup>Although the scale of the contact was small it was never the less significant. The fact that trapping prices were low made traditional subsistence patterns less than viable, thus introducing a strong cohesive component to the contact situation (Asch, 1977).



A contact situation with more intense exposure to outside influence was studied by Chance and Trudeau (1963). Radar sites were established at Kaktovik on Barter Island, 400 miles northeast of Fairbanks, Alaska and at Winisk, Ontario. On Barter Island, in addition to the small and infrequent contact with missionaries and traders, the Eskimo had contact from the 1940s to 1950s when the U. S. Coast Geodetic Survey and the military began hiring Eskimos for surveying and construction work. During the 1953-54 period construction on the radar site began. The same men were given specialized skill training and a few achieved positions as union carpenters and mechanics. Discrimination was kept to a minimum and the men were considered an asset by both government and construction men. Eskimos and whites worked together and ate together. The government supported the restrictions upon contact set by the Eskimos. Moreover, the authors asserted, many of the Eskimo traits were congruent with white traits, e.g., mental alertness, cooperativeness, industriousness, generosity, and the ability to assume new technical skills. Moreover, the Eskimos spent only a part of the year in the contact



situation. They regularly returned home to participate in community affairs.

In Winisk, however, contact prior to the establishment of the radar site had been primarily in terms of the fur trade model. That is, they had contact with Eurocanadians at scattered intervals during the year. Living in small family groups along their traplines, they had little experience living with other trappers, with the exception of the short summer rendezvous at the trading post.

Construction of the radar site offered the first opportunity for wage labor. The Cree worked with the Eurocanadians, but, unlike the Eskimos of Kaktovik, they were subjected to discrimination. Social contact between the men was limited, in contrast to the frequent meetings between Eurocanadian men and the Indian women. Effective leadership necessary to control Eurocanadian-Indian relations was absent. The government-appointed chief was ignored by the Eurocanadian radar base leaders and concomittantly by the Indians. The authors noted a breakdown in social control among the Indians as well as friction between the Eurocanadians and Indians.





Thus both cases represented considerable increases in the scale of contact, but the Eskimos managed to retain and participate in the contact situation seemingly without deleterious effects to themselves. Several explanations may be suggested. In the first place, the Eskimos experienced contact for short periods prior to their period of intense contact, thus allowing them to become familiar with contact conditions they would later encounter. Moreover, the later contact occurred away from their settlement, which limited the range of its impact and allowed the men a sanctuary from the contact situation. There are also considerably more collective bonds which reinforce the traditional culture among these Eskimo than the Cree of Winisk. Finally, the Americans valued the Eskimos, thus reinforcing their self-worth and, on another level, their culture and cooperated in allowing the Eskimos to control contact during their work periods.

The Cree, on the other hand, did not have the corporate controls possessed by the Eskimos nor were the controls which existed reinforced. On the contrary, they experienced the humiliation of discrimination and received little assistance from the base commander in reinforcing what fragile controls did exist. Unlike the Eskimo, the





Cree had little time to adjust to the changed situation; they had to develop coping strategies on the spot in the face of negative reinforcement by the Eurocanadians.

The construction of large, urban administrative or industrial centers in the north represented a quantum jump in the potential scale of contact. No longer were natives merely encountering isolated traders, government officials, or priests. Even contact with Eurocanadian work crews or small scale military establishments were not equivalent. The literature on new towns ignores, for the most part, the existence of native peoples. One of the exceptions is Deprez and Sigurdson (1969), but the focus of their study was the manifestations of native employment in an industrial setting rather than contact with the large centers per se.

There are several northern studies which consider the consequences of culture contact in a town setting, if not in a new town per se. Some investigators seem to implicitly focus upon the "inability" of natives to adjust while others argue that the current social forms reflect adjustment given present conditions. Both Ervin (1969) and Fried (1963) pointed to the status distinction attained between southern Eurocanadians and northern natives. Fried went on to suggest that natives in the town setting experience considerable difficulty in adjusting as a result of the persistence of their traditional values. Some anthropologists have pointed to



what they consider to be instances of social disintegration as a result of these new contact conditions (Honigmann 1965, 1968; Trudeau 1966). Spaulding (1965), however, suggests that the indications of disintegration and deviancy suggested by some social scientists and similarly expressed by concerned government and church officials are not accurate. Rather, these communities may evidence considerable integration and viability when viewed in terms of their articulation with the larger society.

In most of the studies noted, the changes were fairly gradual. In some northern settlements natives drifted into towns and out again. They had, in effect, some control over both the duration and intensity of contact, although, as noted earlier, there were coercive forces promoting sustained contact. One exception, of course, was at Winisk in which the radar site was situated near the village. The fact that the Eurocanadians did little to assist them in adapting to the changes and, in fact, accorded them low status, made the exercise of social controls and the integration of changes difficult.



In recent years, industrial development has become an increasingly important vehicle for cultural change in the north. Norman Chance (1968, 1970), describing the relations between the Cree Indians and industrial sites in Quebec, has adopted approaches which differ from those of earlier investigators.

According to Chance, the Cree were attracted to the industrial sites by the opportunity for wage labor. Most had had little contact experience other than that provided by the fur trade model. Working as units, they were employed in the bush logging and on survey work. Some of the people worked for only short times in the area, returning home eventually. Others settled in squatter settlements to wait between jobs.

The new setting provided access to a wide variety of new goods and services including schooling for the young. Some social discrimination existed in terms of social relations in the settlement and in terms of the assignment of timber contracts. The setting and conditions of contact were of the industrial type so prevalent today. By studying these conditions Chance developed an interpretive scheme based upon concepts from cultural ecology and cognitive anthropology which emphasized the mutual





interdependence between the natural environment, culture, and social relations. Chance proposed that change comes about as a result of stress which is generated in the social environment, the cultural environment, and the bio-physical environment. The stress occurring in these three environments becomes a key variable.

I will simply classify the bio-physical system variable as belonging to the material, non-human aspect of man's environment. It is what is "out there" physically, rather than actions or thoughts taking place between or within men...In short, all people need a social system. The basic units of the social system are not individuals as such, but are the recurrent and regularized social interactions between two or more individuals, reflecting complementary role expectations. The role-clusters may be seen as operating in informal groups, formal organizations, and diffuse collectives which only occasionally interact, e.g., racial groups. When I speak of a society, I refer to the most autonomous or self-sufficient type of social system whose differentiated segments are more dependent on each other than on segments of other societies. Finally, our cognitive organization juxtaposes patterns of relationships in such a manner as to enable us to make generalizations about past events and express predictions about future events. It is by this means that we are able to build up a body of knowledge which, although coded by our cognitive "grammar", is capable of being passed on to others through verbal and written language.





This cognitive organization of an individual and the standards by which he perceives, predicts, judges, and acts is here defined as the cultural system. Although the ultimate locus of a cultural system is found within the individual's cognitive organization and standards for thinking and acting, culture in the broader sense will refer to the complementary cognitive patterns. By this means, we can distinguish the cognitive meaning referent of the culture from the behavior interaction referent of the social system (Chance, 1968:13-15).

The analytical distinction between bio-physical, cultural, and social systems is particularly useful given the type of contact situation. That is, it provides an analytic distinction between the multiplicity of stimuli affecting individuals while at the same time reinforcing the interdependence of the factors.

Individuals coming from the bush to work in the town and industrial settings often suddenly experienced a range of new stimuli previously unknown to them. For the first time their bio-physical environment had been radically changed, both through the industrial exploitation of the natural features and by the construction of urban residential areas. If the contact with Eurocanadians occurred in a town or industrial setting, they were exposed to radically different social milieu which had increased both in complexity and scale.

Chance considered the three-part scheme to be an heuristic device for the identification and measurement



of environmental stress. Once the varieties and extent of stress are measured, he suggested, intervention strategies may be developed in the cause of directed change.

Environmental stress, in Chance's scheme, became the principle motivator for socio-economic change.

Although interesting, there are several difficulties with this prime motivator notion, not the least of which is the fact that he fails to define clearly his principle concept: stress. More disturbing, perhaps, is the implication that people are moved about by some single force. There seems to be a deterministic connotation which belies the model of mutual interaction between environments. People seem to be no longer the decision-makers; rather they are pawns of converging forces (stressors). Part of the problem may be that, in addition to not defining stress clearly, Chance fails to provide clear linkage between the stress concept and his environmental model, thus limiting the usefulness of his model. On the one hand his awareness of the essentially different conditions extant in present northern industrialization and his insightful development of a cognitive-emotive framework has been valuable in terms of understanding the potentials for explanation, but his failure more explicitly to develop and define his theoretical model limits its usefulness.

As industrialization continues to snowball in the north, it is apparent that people, both native and Eurocanadian



will increasingly confront conditions which differ significantly from those they have been exposed to previously. When natives leave their small settlements or isolated bush camps to pursue employment at the new industrial sites, they will encounter a scale of contact unknown in the traditional setting. For some, the new towns and industrial setting could be placed in the middle of their environment, thus significantly altering it. Moreover, the large numbers of southern Eurocanadians recruited to work in the north will encounter a dramatically different setting than that with which they are familiar in southern Canada or Europe.

In summary, it is argued that these conditions of rapid northern industrial development represent a departure from the usual sorts of culture contact which has generally been encountered in the past as a result of northern development and contact. The significant features are sudden, intense, and comprehensive contact between two or more diverse cultures or subcultures. Moreover, these changes are accompanied by significant changes in the biophysical environment. Probably these conditions are most pronounced during the first year or so of town development. The situation is not unlike special conditions of a disaster in which people must confront immediate,





bewildering change. Under these conditions, high stress levels have an impact upon peoples' behavior and adaptation. (Wallace 1970:202-203). It therefore behooves us to investigate the nature of stress in more detail.

### Cognition and Stress

Before pursuing the question of psychological adaptation to stress and the possible ramifications such adaptation may have for behavior, it is necessary to first of all consider the nature of cognition.

#### Cognition

Cognitive anthropologists operate on the assumption that human knowledge or cognition is structured. That is, all men organize their perceptions, experiences, and learning in an ordered framework. Various parts of this knowledge are available through a complex mental retrieval system for use in daily affairs.

Students of cognition point to the dependence of man upon cognitively organized symbol systems, in which sensory information is encoded conceptually into elaborate units which they variously refer to with concepts as rules, maps, and plans. (Spradley 1972). Reality does not exist as an immutable set of facts, rather it exists as a complex set of perceptions and cognitions. Moreover these constructions of reality vary culturally. (Hollowell 1954).





Representing the world as seen through the eyes of a member of a different culture has long been the task of many cultural anthropologists. Through long field studies, ethnographers sought to experience and learn about another people's way of life in order that they could describe it in their terms, or through their eyes. In recent years a group of anthropologists, sometimes termed the "New Ethnographers", "Ethnoscience", or "Ethnosemantics", have sought to bring new rigor to this task by deriving analytic techniques from the linguists. The technique involves determining the manner in which a particular group categorizes and organizes experiences. The implication is that by delineating the relationships and structures of such categories the researcher develops an understanding of the cultural knowledge associated with that particular event.

To order ethnographic observations only according to an investigator's preconceived categories obscures the real content of culture. What is important, they assert, is how people organize their experiences conceptually so that they can be transmitted as knowledge from person to person and from generation to generation. As Goodenough advocates in his classic definition, culture "does not consist of things, people, behavior, or emotions", but the forms or organization of these things in the minds of people (Goodenough 1957).



The principles by which people in a culture construe their world reveals how they segregate the pertinent from the insignificant, how they code and retrieve information, how they anticipate courses of action and make decisions. Consequently, a strategy of ethnographic descriptions that gives a central place to the cognitive processes of the actors involved will contribute reliable cultural data to the problems of the relations between language, cognition, and behavior. It will point out critical dimensions for meaningful cross-cultural comparisons. And, finally, it will give us productive descriptions of cultural behavior, descriptions which, like the linguists grammar, succinctly state what one must know in order to generate culturally acceptable acts and utterances appropriate to a given socio-ecological context (Goodenough 1967 as quoted by Frake 1972).

The cognitive approach of the ethnosemantists has received varied criticism. In an often repeated criticism, Harris (1970:590) suggests that ethnosemantists fail to distinguish between "real" and "ideal" aspects of culture.

If permitted to develop unchecked, the tendency to write ethnographies in accord with the emic rules of behavior will result in an unintentional parody of the human condition. Applied to our own culture it would conjure up



a way of life in which men tip their hats to ladies; youths defer to old people in public conveyance; unwed mothers are a rarity; citizens go to the aid of law enforcement officers; chewing gum is never stuck under tables and never dropped on the sidewalk; television repairmen fix television sets; children respect their aged parents; rich and poor get the same medical treatment; taxes are paid in full; all men are created equal; and our defense budget is used only for maintaining peace.

Spradley (1972:242) counters by suggesting that Harris' accusation is, in fact, "a parody of studies in culture and cognition". The study of rules, he says, isn't limited to instruction for ideal behavior. Moreover, the dichotomy between real and ideal behavior per se is an oversimplification since much social interaction is based upon the "presumed behavior" of others. Rules for behavior are based on observations of actual behavior as well as verbal behavior. The rule which is formulated by the ethnographer takes into account what people actually do or presumed behaviors.

Berreman (1922) addresses himself to another feature of the ethnoscientists argument. That is, that the ethnosemantic method is superior to other forms of Ethnographic investigation.





My objections to the linguistic analogies is not that they are useless, but that they are too often productive of lifeless descriptions of human life; that they are too often uncritically applied and especially that they characteristically are grimly and unconsciously pretentious. Their advocates often behave like the methodological pixies of whom Everett Hughes spoke, who have a method and who flit about eagerly looking for something to which to apply it, manifesting what W. Wright Mills has described as a kind of "empty ingenuity", and what Berger has termed "humorless scientism". Such efforts are unlikely to go far toward contributing to social science unless supplemented by clearly defined goals (1966:228).

Although Berreman disagrees that the ethnosemantic method is, in fact, "the new ethnography" he does agree to the general aims of increasing ethnographic rigor and validity. He proposes

that extensive, explicit, and perceptive field notes, self analytical reporting of research procedures and research contexts documentation of the ethnographers' theories of society and their biases are steps toward the same end and with greater promise. (1966:228)

Other scholars have taken issue with other features of the ethnoscientific framework, most of which are not germane to this immediate discussion. The discussion of "the new ethnography" and its critics was meant to





illustrate some of the concerns and dilemmas surrounding cognitive anthropology. Another concern which should be raised relates to cognitive change and the relation of cognition to cultural change. For the most part, the cognitive anthropologists appear to have focused their concerns upon a method that is analogous to the study of static traits and trait complexes which characterized anthropology at an earlier period. They do not deal, for the most part, with process and with change.

There are several exceptions however. Spradley (1975) deals with culture change in a cognitive framework by utilizing Barnett's scheme for innovation. But before discussing culture change, a few comments about Spradley's conception of cognition and culture are in order. In Spradley's (1975:5) discussion, a basic assumption was that "human experience and behavior are largely products of symbolic meaning systems". He asserts that "culture is the acquired knowledge that people use to interpret experience and to generate social behavior (Spradley, 1975; emphasis added).

Culture change, in Spradley's terms, is a result of changes occurring in cultural knowledge.

Culture change can be defined as the process by which some members of a



society revise their cultural knowledge and use it to generate and interpret new forms of social behavior (Spradley 1975:569)

Some revisions in cultural knowledge occur through the process of innovation. Following Barnett, he defines innovation as a recombination of concepts from two or more mental configurations into a new pattern that is qualitatively different from existing forms (Spradley, 1975:757).

The establishment of innovation necessitates social acceptance of the innovation, performance of the innovation, and integration of the innovation. Following Barnett's emphasis on the individual as the appropriate unit for study, innovation or explanation of the process of culture change illustrates roles of the individual in bringing about culture change. Wallace has dealt with the matter in a slightly different manner; by focusing cognitive events as experienced by individuals, he infers culture change. The link, of course, is the assertion that systemic relations are obtained between the mazeway of an individual and the cultural system of the group. His position may be viewed as transitional between the static taxonomists, who study the contents of domains, and the cognitive psychologists who attempt to deal with cognitive but not culture change.

The foundation of Wallace's scheme is the conceptualization of cognitive structure as a mazeway.



Mazeway is to the individual what culture is to the group. Just as every group's history is unique, so every human individual's course of experience is unique. As a product of this experience, every human brain contains, at a given point of time, a unique mental image of a complex system of dynamically interrelated objects. This mental image - the mazeway - includes the body in which the brain is housed, various other surrounding things, and sometimes even the brain itself. This complex mental image is the mazeway. It consists of an extremely large number of assemblages, or cognitive residues of perception ... and is used by its holder as a true and more or less complete representation of the operating characteristics of the "real" world.

The mazeway may be compared to a map of a gigantic maze with an elaborate key or legend and many inserts. On this map are represented three types of assemblage: (1) goals and pitfalls (values, or desirable and undesirable end-states); (2) the "self" and other objects (people, and things); and (3) ways (plans, processes, or techniques) which may be circumvented or used, according to their characteristics, to facilitate the self's attainment or avoidance of values (Wallace 1970:15).

From an individual point of view, these phenomena are seen as an "integrated dynamic system of perceptual assemblances" which operate in terms of more or less idiosyncratic laws, the study of which he leaves to personality psychology or dynamic psychiatry.

Culture change in Wallace's terms is resultant of the changes occurring in those portions of the individual's mazeway which subsequently result in changes in the complementary equivalence structure of other members of the group. Wallace's notion of mazeway, culture and





equivalence structure are explicitly systemic. Thus, individual cognitive systems are intersystemically related to the cultural system of a group (Wallace 1961:25). Therefore, one can assume that Wallace considers metaphors used to describe the cultural system to also roughly approximate the cognitive system. He writes

A culture under certain conditions, during a period of time can be said to be an open system in a state of stable but moving equilibrium: that is to say, it maintains a boundary, accepts inputs and produces outputs at approximately equal rates and changes continuously but gradually in internal structure...The quantity of organization of the system (product of its complexity and its orderliness) remains relatively constant, or increases or decreases slowly...Change appears as a chainlike series of acceptances and abandonments. The rate may be relatively fast or slow, and the changes themselves large or small; but the transformation of structure is accomplished by an piece-by-piece replacement and realignment of parts (Wallace 1961:142).

Wallace conceptualizes this sort of change as a "moving equilibrium process". It can be argued that much of the change which Indians experienced during the fur trade period was of this sort. That is, the Indians encountered Eurocanadian culture and were involved during





much of the fur trade period in fairly orderly "chainlike series of acceptances and abandonments."<sup>2</sup> The moving equilibrium process occurs when a culture is in a more or less "steady state." Stress levels and disorganization, according to Wallace (1961:197), are within tolerable limits. The system is corrected to a limited extent when there are periodic flashes of high stress.

Cultural distortion results when some members of the society attempt to restore personal equilibrium by dysfunctional expedients such as alcoholism, venality to public officials, and "black market," breach of sexual and kinship mores, hoarding, gambling for gain, "scape-goating" and similar behaviors. Once cultural distortion occurs, Wallace (1961:148-156) asserts it is very difficult to return to the steady state without a revitalization of the society by someone who assumes the role of spiritual leader. He, in effect, leads a movement aimed at directing the cognitive re-synthesis of the society's members. In essence, he proposes an alternative blueprint or code for the society. Without this revitalization, the society is apt to disintegrate.

Wallace's (1961:156-163) notions about cultural loss and the resistance to cultural change are also relevant

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<sup>2</sup>That is not to say that these choices were necessarily free from external socio-economic coercion. What it does suggest is that during this sort of change there is much more opportunity for the people of a culture to control their own change.



to this discussion. The question which Wallace poses is, at what point do members of the group abandon the dysfunctional components of the culture? The emotional cost of such abandonment is incredibly high as illustrated in his discussion of the "disaster syndrome." For example, the perception that an individual's mazeway is no longer confirmed may result in "shattering anxiety and is followed by denial". Wallace suggests that the psychological principle behind these phenomena is fundamental to any theory of culture change and is called the "Principle of Conservation of Cognitive Structure."

- (1) The individual will not abandon any particular conception of reality (including, therefore, his culturally standard conceptions), even in the face of direct evidence of its current inutility, without having had an opportunity to construct a new mazeway, with or without substitute conceptions, in which the invalid conception is not a functionally necessary component;
- (2) initial confrontation of the individual with evidence of inutility will arouse an anxiety-denial response and this anxiety-denial syndrome may continue for a considerable period of time;
- (3) it is easier for the individual to abandon a conception if substitutes are offered and models of new mazeways are presented than if abandonment must be made "blind", in response to awareness of the inutility of the concept (cf. Wallace, 1957; Conant, 1951). A corollary of this principle is the



"dilemma of immobility". Individuals for years will cling to a disordered socio-cultural system in which events do not follow reliably upon their supposed antecedents, rather than face the anxiety of cultural abandonment. (Wallace 1970:203-204)

Several points of the foregoing discussion of cognition bear further elaboration. All of the cognitive anthropologists recognize the importance of attempting to understand behavior in relation to the mental events transpiring among the groups members. The statistical probabilities of particular behaviors among a group of "respondents" or "subjects" is not their focus of concern. Either explicitly or implicitly, they envision the task of ethnography to be understanding culture from the viewpoint of the participants. This involves a recognition that cultural knowledge, in Spradley's terms, is a framework for interpreting and generating behavior. Wallace has pointed out that an individual's cognitive structure or mazeway is systemically related to the culture of the group. This relationship does not, however, imply that there is an isomorphic relationship between individual mazeways and the shared ideas that traditionally constitute culture. Rather, he asserts that there are "complementary equivalence structures" between interacting individuals. Wallace notes an important feature not considered by some





cognitive anthropologists, the role of such emotive states as stress in changing a mazeway and effecting culture change.

### Stress

Anthropologists other than Wallace have used the stress concept, however. In the foregoing discussion Chance referred to stress as an important variable in understanding the adaptive responses of the Cree. Savaskinsky (1971) suggests that stress was experienced by the Hare Indians of Colville Lake when attempts were made to establish social ties without well-developed social guidelines. Shortages of fur and game were also considered sources of stress. Honigmann (1967) spent some time elaborating Silye's pioneering work on stress and then needlessly proceeded to redefine the terminology. For example, he recommends that the term "strain" replace "stress", the term which Silye used. The causes of stress, which Silye calls "stressors", Honigmann prefers to call stress. Such conceptual juggling does little to clarify the murky use of the term as employed by many social scientists. The importance of the concept, however, is evidenced by Honigmann later when he devotes an entire chapter to it entitled, "In Defence Against Stress".



Alland (1970), again drawing upon Silye's work, recommended a closer examination of the physiological and psychological relationships extant in conditions of stress. He suggested that such an examination should attempt to identify the basic factors which promote cultural and environmental stressors.

Several anthropologists have attempted to measure stress systematically. Raoul Naroll (1959) tried to measure the social stress between systems. He recognizes four indicators of social stress: (1) voluntary suicide committed in such a way as to cause public notice; (2) deliberate homicide committed so as to reach public notice despite disapproval; (3) regular occurrences of physical assault among members of a community while intoxicated; (4) attribution of many deaths to witchcraft. Other characteristics are proposed as signs of stress in white communities. Spradley and Phillips (1972) focused on the experience of "culture shock" as a particular type of stress which occurs in cross-cultural interaction. Their aim was to develop reliable measures of "stressors" in terms of intensity and length of time through psychophysical techniques. Their results, although tentative, suggest that



there are universal stressors encountered by those who experience culture shock resulting from the nature of the cultural subsystem, human learning process, or other variables. (1972:527)

The work of Mosuda and Holmes (1967) is cited as further evidence of the universality of stressors other than culture shock as well as the important variables in the cultural definitions of stress.

Other social and natural scientists have used the concept as well. Often their research is directed toward understanding situations in which groups or individuals experience extreme deprivation or danger (Schein, 1957; Frost, et. al., 1951). Leighton (1964) identified the influence of stress on Japanese internees in terms of changes in belief structures. Appley and Trumbull (1967) presented a series of studies which allied psychological-physiological changes resulting from different stressors. They related their studies to Silye's work, striving for conceptual clarity and the empirical physiological verification of the stress concept.

Hans Silye (1950, 1956, 1974), one of the first to conceptualize stress, received the Nobel prize for his pioneering work. Stress was defined by Silye as a





nonspecific response of the body to any demand made upon it. The key to this definition is the term, nonspecific. He points out that a variety of stimuli or stressors evoke different specific reactions. For example, diuretic drugs increase the production of urine; the hormone adrenalin augments the pulse rate and blood sugar while insulin decreases blood sugar. All these processes have one thing in common: a demand for readjustment.

This demand is nonspecific; it requires adaptation to a problem irrespective of what the problem may be (Silye, 1974: 24).

A key assumption of Silye's model is that the organism's natural reaction is to adapt to stressors in such a way as to reduce the state of stress, returning the body to a state of homeostasis. Yet, stress is considered an essential condition for living organisms, just as is continual adaptation. He distinguishes clearly between stress and distress, the former being any stimuli which alerts the organism to response; the latter being associated with negative reactions. In Silye's terms, one of the most flagrant misuses of the concept has been to associate stress only with such negative reactions as fear, anxiety, or





grief. Although these are stressors, so are joy, exultation, and rapture.<sup>3</sup>

Silye called the physical response to systemic stress the General Adaptation Syndrome (G.A.S.) The process is summarized below.

The first stage of this syndrome, or the alarm reaction includes an initial shock phase (in which resistance is lowered) and a counter-shock phase (in which defensive mechanisms become active). A second stage of resistance follows, during which maximum adaptation occurs. Should a stressor persist, however---or the defensive reaction prove ineffective---a stage of exhaustion is reached in which adaptive mechanisms collapse (Appley & Trumbull, 1967:3 as quoted in Spradley and Phillips 1972).

Silye's G.A.S. model for systemic adaptation to stress has important implications for the understanding of some types of cognitive and cultural change. Key premises in Silye's scheme are: that the organism must adapt to the stressors present in its environment to survive, that stress in varying degrees is a normal part of systemic processes, and that the system, through adaptation to stressors, attempts to restore balance within the system.

From the foregoing discussion of cognition, it should be evident that stress can occur in cognitive systems as

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<sup>3</sup>Silye refers to negative or damaging stress as distress. (1974:31) The reference to culture shock as a form of stress in the following discussion will refer only to distress, that is to negative stress, e.g. anxiety.



well as general physiological systems.<sup>4</sup> In fact, it is quite probable that stress is an important part of normal cognition, although most of the cognitive anthropologists seemingly prefer to ignore the emotive component of cognition.

If one conceives of culture as knowledge, then it becomes apparent that when one's cultural knowledge is either in conflict with or inappropriate to particular features of one's social or natural environment, difficulties in cognition occur, the system, in effect, is obligated to resolve the dilemma.

In short, I am proposing that dissonance, that is, the existence of nonfitting relations among cognitions, is a motivating factor in its own right...Cognitive dissonance can be seen as an antecedent condition which leads to activity oriented towards dissonance reduction just as hunger leads to activity oriented towards hunger reduction.

The total amount of dissonance between this element and the remainder of the person's cognition will depend on the proportion of relevant elements that are dissonant with the one in question (Festinger 1962:3, 17).

Thus, under conditions of minimal culture contact or under conditions in which culture contact is not

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<sup>4</sup>The transfer of the systemic analogy from general physiological to cognitive systems is not meant to imply that a simple stimulus-response situation exists. The analogy would hold at one level but not at another; that is although a person experiences cognitive stress the potential methods of dealing with and the sources of the stress are very complex, involving in varying degrees the elements of choice.



forced or of short duration, dissonance<sup>5</sup> is light. But, under conditions in which contact is forced, contact is intense and the differences between the cultural systems great, dissonance will also be great.

The cognitive effects of dissonance between cognitive elements as a result of culture contact has been described by Oberg (1954) as "Culture Shock".

Culture shock is precipitated by the anxiety that results from losing all our familiar signs and symbols of social intercourse. These signs or cues include the thousand and one ways in which we direct ourselves, to the situation of daily life: when to shake hands, and what to say when we meet people, when and how to give tips, how to give orders to servants, how to make purchases, when to accept and when to refuse invitations, when to take statements seriously and when to say no. Now these cues which may be words, gestures, facial expressions, customs or norms are acquired by all of us in the course of growing up and are as much a part of our culture as the language we speak or the beliefs we accept. All of us depend for our peace of mind and our efficiency on hundreds of these cues, most of which we do not carry in the level of conscious awareness (Oberg, 1954:1-2).

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<sup>5</sup>In terms of this discussion, dissonance is considered conceptually equivalent to stress.





The process of readjustment or adaptation involves redefining the situation and learning new behavior, skills, and often languages. In a sense, the person must re-establish cognitive control through eventually learning at least the minimal requirements for predictable behavior. The readjustment process does not occur haphazardly. Oberg (1954) defines four stages of culture shock.

1. Honeymoon Stage which lasts a few weeks.
2. Hostile Stage when the individual is critical of the host country, and, if possible, withdraws to his fellow countrymen.
3. An initial Recovery Stage characterized by superiority and humor.
4. Finally, Adjustment to the new culture.

The adaptive sequence depicted by Oberg reflects the efforts of individuals attempting to regain cognitive control, to resolve dissonance through changing and reordering their cognitive structure. This involves learning and the concomitant problems of achieving, in Festinger's terms, a new "fit" between the new elements acquired through learning and the old. If culture shock is experienced by a cultural group rather than an individual the result can only be culture change.



Silve's G.A.S. model asserts a process of physiological adaptation to stress, although it does not specify what the adaptation will be. If culture shock represents cognitive dissonance and cognitive dissonance is a form of stress, then it might be useful to compare both Silve's model and Oberg's four stage scheme to compare relationships between physiological adaptation and cognitive adaptation to stress.

Table 1

Comparison of Oberg's and Silve's Schemes

Silve	Oberg
1. <u>Alarm Reaction</u> (Initial shock stage) (a) resistance is lowered  (b) <u>counter-shock phase</u> in which defensive mechanisms become active	1. <u>Honeymoon Stage</u>  excitement over culture contact; experience euphoria 2. <u>Hostile Stage</u> (a) critical of the host country (b) if possible, withdraw among fellow countrymen
2. <u>Resistance Stage</u> major forms of adaption underway	3. <u>Initial Recovery Stage</u> characterized by superiority and humor
3. <u>Exhaustion Stage</u> If the stressor persists despite adaptive responses or the defenses are ineffective exhaustion ensues in which adaptive responses collapse.	4. Final adjustment to the new culture.



Oberg's scheme assumes that adjustment will follow with the resynthesis of the individual's cognitive system and the acquisition of appropriate new knowledge and behaviors. Silye, on the other hand, allows for the eventuality of failure should the adaptations prove inadequate to reduce the state of stress.

The honeymoon stage, although having no counterpart in Silye's sequence, reflects a common experience of travellers to a foreign land of feelings of Euphoria. Gullahörn (1963:34 as quoted in Spradley and Phillips 1972) provides an apt description of this stage.

Initially the sojourners report feelings of elation and optimism associated with positive expectations regarding interaction with their hosts. As they actually become involved in the role relationships and encounter frustration in trying to achieve goals, when the proper means are unclear or unacceptable they become confused and depressed and express negative attitudes regarding the host culture.

The hostile stage then occurs when the individual perceives the threat. He is confronted with the ineffectiveness of his own socio-cultural experience. Lashing out against what he perceives as the threat or retreating from it assuming defensive postures, he develops more appropriate





adaptive strategies which are seen as defensive rather than adaptive strategies because they tend to be socially dysfunctional in terms of prolonged participation in a foreign social milieu. A stranger who continually lashes out at the host country cannot long be endured. Either he makes such a nuisance of himself that he becomes a public liability and is deported or he ceases to be able to relate professionally or socially and he leaves. Similarly extreme forms of retreatism jeopardize the eventual adjustment of a person operating overseas. Tourists who arrive in a foreign country and who are afraid to leave their hotels are not that uncommon as are technical advisors who are able to function adequately only within the confines of the government compound.

Stage 2 of Silye's scheme and stages 3 and 4 of Oberg's scheme coincide fairly well. They represent successful adaptation to the stressors and resolutions of the state of stress. The cognitive structure of the individual has, in essence, been reorganized, its codes, its maps incorporate features extant in the new environment. At least the minimal requirements for social participation have been achieved. That is, behavior becomes predictable (Wallace 1961:40). The key to this transition is





learning, that is the acquisition of appropriate cultural knowledge. One of the important vehicles for such learning occurs through the mastery of the language appropriate to the setting.

### The Problem

This thesis is concerned with the differential adaptation to dramatic social, cultural, and environmental change experienced by Eurocanadians and natives in a Canadian new town.

The concept of culture shock as a form of cognitive stress is used because it seems to help explain a range of behaviors witnessed during the research period. These behaviors, then, are construed as resulting at least in part from the distortion of reality which occurs when people encounter dramatically different social, cultural, and/or physical environments. Since individuals depend upon these conceptual models of reality to orient their day to day affairs, severe disruption or distortion of these systems, as Wallace points out, can have important individual and cultural consequences. Confronted with dramatic socio-cultural and environmental change, which produces culture shock, people may have varying alternatives in terms of resolving the stress they experience.



If they cannot leave their new environment, then they are faced with the problem of either reconstructing their own inner reality, their cognitive organization (mazeway), to fit the new conditions, or of restructuring the new conditions to fit the models with which they are familiar or of confronting their inability to do either (which poses the possibility of socially and personally destructive behavior).

The stress or cognitive dissonance experienced under such conditions is a motivator to action, that is, to restoring the systemic balance experienced when one has functional competence in a known environment. Although the stress is a motivator to action, there are no rigid sequences as to exactly what the action must be. Individuals may exercise varying degrees of choice, based upon personal disposition as well as on environmental opportunities.

Earlier in this discussion a comparison of Oberg's and Silye's schemes for Culture Shock and Stress was presented. The purpose of this comparison and, indeed, much of the discussion surrounding it was to demonstrate that culture shock was a form of stress, albeit cognitive, and that the experience of stress was a motivator to action. In essence, if the



stress level is high enough, stress reduction, either in the form of environmental modification or cognitive resynthesis must occur for individual or group survival.

Explicit in both Silye's and Oberg's schemes is the notion of sequence, that is, that stress reduction follows a general pattern. Silye's G.A.S. pattern does not specify exactly what physiological event must take place for each type of circumstance. Yet, the G.A.S. model provides a guide to the pattern of systematic stress reduction. Oberg's scheme, in a similar fashion, does not specify the individual events that must happen if adaptation is to occur, but it does present a general sequence for new town conditions. Such a scheme provides a framework for interpreting many of the events taking place in a new town and is useful not only to social scientists but also to the people themselves who are trying to interpret their own stress and reconstruct a more appropriate reality. In essence, understanding what they are experiencing provides them with a lever for change.

On the following page is a diagram which is based upon a synthesis of Oberg's and Silye's schemes. The diagram reflects not only the essentials of their schemes but also some relevant concepts. Basically, the diagram suggests that upon experiencing culture





shock individuals attempt to reinforce the reality that they know. They attempt, if possible, to modify the new conditions to fit the old. To the extent that this is not possible, they begin to create new categories for organizing reality; they attempt to manufacture a framework which explains the new conditions, developing categories which once again permit predictable behavior. Once the processes shift from clinging to familiar patterns to manufacturing new ways of interpreting reality and generating behavior, learning, as well as creative activity, have occurred, bringing about culture change.

But what if such learning and creative activity does not take place? As Silye pointed out, successful adaptation to stress is not a given. In his scheme, exhaustion and death result from unsuccessful adaptation. In terms of persons and cultures, if contact is sustained and adaptation unsuccessful, personal and cultural disorganization will follow. Wallace aptly described these conditions.

Under conditions of disorganization, the system from the standpoint of at least some of its members, is unable to make possible the reliable satisfaction of certain values which are held to be essential.



to continued well-being and self-respect. The mazeway of a culturally disillusioned person, accordingly, is an image of a world that is unpredictable, or barren in its simplicity, or both. His mood (depending upon the precise nature of the disorganization) will be one of panic-stricken anxiety, shame, guilt, depression, or apathy (Wallace, 1970:189).

If, for whatever reason, individuals are unable to adapt and severe cognitive disorganization obtains over time, it apparently becomes increasingly difficult to bring about normal resynthesis. Most probably individuals become involved in destructive cycles of behavior which not only do not alleviate the original stressors but generate new ones. For example, if drinking was engaged in as a stress reduction technique and subsequently resulted in alcoholism which interfered with normal family and work relations, thereby generating additional stressors, a vicious cycle might evolve. The widespread occurrence of such behavior would affect the culture of the group. Wallace sees cultural revitalization as the only possibility for cultural survival under such circumstances.

Once severe cultural distortion has occurred, the society can with difficulty return to steady state without the institution of a revitalization process. Without revitalization indeed, the society is apt to disintegrate as a system: the



population will either die off, splinter into autonomous groups, or be absorbed into another, more stable, society (Wallace 1961:148).

The diagram for bicultural adaptation presents a scheme whereby different modes of adaptation to cognitive stress are presented. As the diagram indicates, learning may either proceed eventually to resynthesis or shift to more destructive forms of adaptation. Although Wallace assumes that only revitalization can bring about resynthesis once distortion has taken place, one need not assume that this has to be the case, at least on an individual basis. The psychotherapeutic literature is replete with many case histories where individuals have circumvented their own destructive behavior.

The possibilities for adaption in any given environment obviously vary, depending both upon internal and external factors. This thesis, then, will describe the conditions in Grande Cache prior to the town, during the development of the town and the problems confronted by both Eurocanadians and the Metis in adapting to the new environment. The aim will be to establish first that both groups experienced culture shock and then to examine their adaptations to it.





## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the methodology of the thesis in the broadest terms, that is, not only to describe the specific research procedures used in data collection but also to describe the general development of the conceptual framework presented in Chapter II. This chapter will specify, so far as possible, the impact of an important variable, the researcher himself.

Anthropology, like sociology and psychology, has entertained a continuing discussion among its practitioners as to what constitutes proper scientific inquiry and what the appropriate method should be

Now, I would like to argue similarly about sociology and the other social sciences, that they are gripped by a tension between, on the one hand, building a pure, if unhuman, science and, on the other hand, being committed empirically and morally to the human drama. Crudely speaking, sociology is torn between the urge to abstract, even if the resultant abstraction says nothing of any significance about human beings, and, on the other hand, the urge to describe and understand human conduct, even if the resultant account fails to stand the rigorous tests of a pure science. Those researchers at the one extreme produce abstract, precise, and arid monographs, devoid of application to the human world, while those who are at





the other extreme produce reports which are humanistic, or novelistic, or historical, or polemical in their texture (Wax 1968:6).

At least part of this debate stems from a concern for objectivity, a concern for empirical validity. I would suggest that another part of the debate arises simply from the temperamental disposition of the scientists themselves. That is, as persons, individual researchers select problems and procedures which reflect their own personalities, their own conceptions of the world, and which are then defended in terms of some claim to scientific legitimacy. Thus, scientists as human beings tend to gravitate to and identify with those particular clusters of scientific norms which fit for them as persons.

A source of considerable difficulty stems from the temptation to view the norms that constitute the scientific method as possessing some sort of ontological status. The neophyte, as he becomes socialized into the scientific system, often comes to accept, albeit unconsciously, many of the norms (both the means and conditions) as "absolute" or "sacred". Consequently, some scientists become prototypes of organization men, strongly committed to the status quo and viewing as a threat persons who, in the search for truth, reject the prevailing normative order or segments thereof (Sjoberg & Nett 1968:72).



The issues about what constitutes good social science now take on a slightly different cast. It should be apparent to anyone familiar with the literature on method and theory that there exists a variety of patterns for theory development, verification, and method. The procedures selected may owe their existence both to a particular logic and to the assumptions and personal dispositions of the scholar. Methodological validity, therefore, requires not only a statement of the "logic in use" and a description of the procedures employed, but also a declaration concerning the assumptions entertained. These assumptions, both theoretical and personal, influence the resulting production from the researcher.

Ordinarily the scientist's assumptions combine to form some kind of logical system, or what we would call a "set of logical-theoretical constructs". In sociology, structural-functionalism, symbolic interactionism and positivism all involve, for example, certain assumptions about reality, the nature of man and the scientists relationship to his empirical data. The assumptions not only influence the scientist's choice of research method but affect his interpretation of the data as well (Sjoberg & Nett, 1968:58).

It is the scientist's total conceptual environment, not just the concepts he acquires during his scientific training, that structure his observations for us,



the sociology of knowledge perspective is a methodological device that seems to objectify this broad conceptual system so that we may properly gauge its impact upon the scientific observer (Sjoberg & Nett 1968:36).

The need to make explicit the **assumptions** of the researchers has been recognized by anthropologists as well. Berreman (1966, 1968) noting that some anthropologists "call for increasing problem orientation, adoption of highly structured research methods, use of quantification, models and formal analysis", observed that other anthropologists are suspicious of these methods on the grounds that they lead to sterile dehumanized scientism. He suggested that scientific validity can be maintained without sacrificing human insight by focusing upon the conceptual system of the researcher.

No definite solution can be given, but one may be sought through making explicit and public the procedures by which research is accomplished and interpretations are derived. This requires essentially what we might call an ethnography of ethnography: a description of exactly how ethnography is done, how insights are derived, how judgements about data are made. One does not objure insight and intuition, he simply treats his insights and intuitions as problematic. He attempts to redefine them. He makes as explicit as possible the clues which led him to them. He reports the bases for his inferences (Berreman 1968:368-9).





This chapter will attempt to present, in addition to the particular procedures employed, statements which reflect as many of the relevant assumptions of the researcher as possible. Before beginning the general discussion, I would like to point out several assumptions which relate to the overall theoretical stance adopted. The first is a general interest in relating the parts to a whole, in trying to understand the way in which different units in the town fitted together. This predilection is not the result of a burning need to provide evidence for some major theoretical argument. It resulted from my own curiosity about the ways that the discrete groups of persons of the town would establish relations. This predilection toward functional investigation was particularly representative of the early period of the research. There is also an implicit interest in psychological events experienced by the people of Grande Cache. Although not formally a psychological anthropologist, I have, nevertheless, had a continuing interest both in the psychology of culture change and psychological experiences of the researcher doing field work. To ignore values, emotions, attitudes, and meanings on the part of either the informants or the researcher seemed to miss the crucial human element of both in terms of the objects of study and the research enterprise.



My interest in the psychological effects of culture change was sharpened the more I became aware of the widespread tension experienced by residents, both native and Euro-canadian in the new town.

To deny or ignore the dramatic psychological manifestation which I observed in favor of a solely materialistic or behavioristic explanation seemed to me to represent gross distortion of the events as well as a disservice to my informants.

A central assumption of the original study was that one could produce an empirically valid understanding of the conditions and events which occurred in Grande Cache without having to resort to a formal theory verifying research design. In fact, I felt that, given the lack of information available on new towns, too rigid a design would probably miss much of what would be significant. This approach, contrary to the positivist stance, seeks to maximize the reliance on the researcher as the data collecting agent.

A final comment has to do with usefulness of different methods of theoretical formulation. The **assumptions and methods** discussed so far support, however implicitly, the **validity of substantive theory**. By **substantive theory** I mean theory which is generated



and derived from and during the course of research. This is not a position that is particularly new to anthropology. In reference to the application of the procedure of the physical scientists Kroeber writes:

To apply his procedures to our material is largely to cheat ourselves. Our equivalent of the physicist's hypothesis is not something we formulate to begin with. They emerge gradually and pile up as we arrange and reinterpret our facts by trial and error. They are most end-products (Kroeber 1952:3).

Kroeber's position essentially parallels that of the "Verstehen" sociologists who emphasize the use of discovery rather than verification. Sarana (1975) more recently has argued for the legitimacy of "contextual explanation", a procedure which produces an analytic statement about particular features of a given culture without necessarily relying upon etic constructs. In sociology, Glazer and Strauss (1967) have argued for procedures which generate theory from and during the course of research as opposed to verification, which attempts to empirically legitimize pre-established constructs.

My point is not that contextual explanation or grounded theory is superior to formal verification, but that it represents another legitimate scientific enterprise which





should not be dismissed simply because it does not fit the logico-deductive model currently in vogue.

Other assumptions and practices will hopefully become apparent during the course of the chapter. The remainder of the discussion is concerned with a narrative account of the development of the study. Subsequent research and involvement in the town are also described.

#### General Comments

Like many research projects, this one began as one thing and was later modified to become considerably different. In 1970, Dr. A. D. Fisher of the Department of Anthropology applied to the Human Resources Research Council of Alberta for a \$25,000 grant to study "Community Formation". The purpose of the grant was to develop a model of the process of community formation which occurs in new, single enterprise towns. The original proposal was designed to perform six research activities, including the study of the New Town of Grande Cache. Of the six activities, only the Grande Cache study was approved.

The study was justified in the research proposal on the following basis.





The sorts of relational networks on the scale described above are normally found in "Communities". Recruited from many parts of Canada, as well as foreign countries, the residents of the new townsites will not constitute a community, at least not at first. Further, provision of all the facilities necessary for community life will not guarantee the development of "community".

What is needed then is a general model of community formation for use by planners of new townsites...Unfortunately most of the literature on community studies has dealt with general problems of community maintenance or with specific aspects of a community such as its social system. Reconstruction of the development of various institutions and groups in the community could only be done on an ex post facto basis with little empirical validation. Therefore a field study of a new townsite is needed to test the assumption in the literature about community formation and to develop a planning model validated by observations.

The proposed research strategy reflected traditional anthropological methods.

Because Grande Cache is in the formation stage and rather small, it is possible to deal with it in the traditional anthropological holistic sense. Such an approach will permit the investigators to relate information about the structure and development of specific sub-systems to the growth of a total system of "community". The emphasis will be upon discovering patterns of interaction which serve to integrate the developing systems within the townsite, rather than upon simply describing categories of relationships. Specific methods of investigations will include document analysis to provide a historic perspective of the town's social-physical spatial relationships, which, for example will provide an indicator of group membership, population movement and social stratification. Participant observations will be used to study informal groups as well as to explore



interaction systems within the formal groups. Both structured and open ended interview schedules will be administered to focus the research upon specific processes, pattern or structure within the town. The use of the case study method will provide a record of the way in which the development of the community is experienced on a personal level.

During the summer of 1970 preparations were made for the coming period of field research. Information was gathered from municipal planners, newspaper archives and related documents. Several trips were made to Grande Cache to acquaint local officials with the nature of the project as well as to attend a variety of social events.

A move to the field site was made in September. The first six weeks were spent gaining rapport with persons in various sectors of the community and becoming oriented to the new town.

Attempts to collect basic social background material were frustrating due to the general state of confusion which existed in the town as well as the fact that little documentation seemed to exist. At the request of the Community Services Director (CSD), we decided against doing any survey research because the CSD planned to undertake a survey on behalf of the community. Rather than flood the town with interviewers, we agreed to assist the community project, provided questions were incorporated in





their interview schedules which were of interest to us. My wife worked with the town survey group while I began interviewing residents about their early experiences in town, sat in on meetings of the Board of Administrators and began observations of the social groups which seemed to exist in the town. Additional interviews were taken with union leaders, mine officials, businessmen, professionals, and government officials. I attended meetings of the Lions, Kinsmen, Boy Scouts, and other established groups. My wife and I attended community dances, house parties, and small social gatherings of various kinds. I spent time observing social interactions in the hotel where businessmen gathered for morning coffee and in the pool room where teenagers gathered after school. Periodically, I observed association patterns in the tavern and the lounge, listening to the discussions of community affairs, work dilemmas and local gossip.

By Christmas, I had begun my research in the school. From earlier observations I was vividly aware of the "folk" distinctions or ethnic categories which I felt were being made between ethnic or cultural groups. I felt that the school might mirror these distinctions even further. I was also curious about the seeming exclusiveness of the teachers.





Before coming to the field site, I began preliminary arrangements to study the school. Having met the principal on my first trip to Grande Cache in 1969, I corresponded with him during 1970 concerning the possibility of studying the school. Upon his recommendation, I contacted the Department of Education representative to the Grande Cache Board of Administrators. He provided some interesting information about the process of closing the schools in the native communities---insisting that the Indians did not even care enough about having schools to bother attending meetings to discuss the situation. I learned later that most of the families were away from the area at the time he arranged the meeting and, in fact, did not want their children in the town school. This gentleman assured me that I would have little trouble gaining permission to study the schools if I merely made a personal appearance before the Board of Administrators meeting and requested permission.

When we had settled into the town, I made arrangements to discuss my project with the Board. To my utter amazement, I was ruthlessly attacked at that meeting by the same board member who had given me such kind assurances of support in Edmonton. With the help of the principal I was able to persuade the rest of the Board that



our project would not do irreparable harm to the children. The Education Department representative attempted to convince his fellow Board members that my planned observations in the classrooms were tantamount to turning the school into an experimental laboratory and the children into guinea pigs. However, the Board overruled the Education representative's objections. Since this particular Board member was so thoroughly disliked, his attack on me had a reverse effect. Instead of putting my research effort in disrepute, it seemed to enhance my credibility with school and town officials.

At the school I observed children on the playground and in the classroom. I interviewed all of the high school teachers, attended teachers' social gatherings, and spent time in the teachers' lounge drinking coffee and discussing the school and the town. I also attended some of the school staff meetings and helped chaperone a teenage dance. To reciprocate for the time staff members spent talking to us, I lectured to a variety of classes on the various aspects of anthropology. My wife interviewed parents from a variety of backgrounds to ascertain their attitudes toward the school. Whenever possible, one of us attended Home and School meetings in order to further round out our picture of the school and its relation to the general processes of community formation.



Throughout the research period we were continually struck by the fact that the town consisted of numerous clusters of people lacking any sort of real horizontal or vertical bonds. No one seemed completely sure of how to act in most situations. Moreover, it occurred to me that in most interactions people were feeling their way through the situation. We were also aware of a fairly high level of both anxiety and hostility on the part of many people. At the same time, we were reminded by government and other officials that this was the best planned town in Alberta, in fact, a model town. The term, instant town, was similarly bantered about by both officials and the press. Yet, our discussions with social workers, policemen, and other concerned citizens indicated that there were many rather tragic conditions prevailing in this officially utopian town. The officials dismissed the social turmoil with slogans about how new towns always suffer from the riff raff and transients before they settle down. According to them, the high turnover of residents was a result of people not appreciating how good things really were in Grande Cache. These statements were usually followed by examples of the modern amenities which were available and the good wages which were to be had.





Our presence in the community was an enigma for many. In addition to our presentation to the Board of Administrators, we made contact with mine officials and local leaders to explain our presence and the purposes of our research. For the most part, we were treated cordially by all sectors of the community. Although many people refused to believe that we were not studying Indians, they felt that there was hardly anything of interest to be found in their town. Some folks regarded me as the man who was writing the book, taking every opportunity to enquire about "the book's" progress. One government official insisted on breaking into a photogenic smile whenever I passed him. I am convinced that he felt he was ensuring an enduring place in "the book".

The origin of the Indian study idea grew, no doubt, from the exotic images that are sometimes associated with anthropologists. Another origin was that, throughout the first year, I spent part of my leisure time with various native persons whom I had met. Moreover, when coming and going about the countryside, I frequently gave them rides.

It was this friendship which led to my involvement with the native community when they decided to form a voluntary association to expedite the settlement of the





land tenure question (Chapter VII). When the Native Area Development Committee was organized, at their request, I worked with them as one of their advisors. Since this involvement was initiated on the basis of friendship and continued on the basis of my being both a friend and professional advocate, my description in some of the discussion may reflect more than simply a scholarly interest. That is I deeply shared some of their concerns and problems. With I.N. Glick, I prepared a report for the Human Resources Development Authority entitled Native Development and the Private Sector. During the same period I agreed to do two studies at the request of the Community Services Director. One was an evaluation of the native vocational school and the other was a study of resettlement patterns among miners.

In August of 1971 we moved to the vicinity of Entrance, ninety miles away, to begin writing up the research material. Throughout the study and during the next year, I struggled with the data trying to find a suitable framework which would lend theoretical credibility to the atomistic conditions we had found. The literature on Canadian new towns seemed inappropriate because it was primarily concerned with the planning of physical features. The literature from Europe and the United States about new towns seemed inappropriate as well. They were not developed ninety miles from the nearest other urban center. Nor did they suddenly bring together people with widely divergent backgrounds and traditions. Traditional community studies dealt with systems and well-established patterns and we



were most struck by the lack of such conditions in Grande Cache. I saw the Grande Cache settlers as engaged in the difficult task of sorting out appropriate interactional patterns so as to develop the sorts of systems and bonds found in older, better established communities. Moreover, I was vividly aware of the high levels of tension and dissatisfaction which seemed to pervade most social relations. In essence, I saw Grande Cache as a collection of aggregates of people bound together in little clusters, trying to maintain some sense of coherence in the midst of the confusion around them.

In January of 1972 I was asked by the Native Area Development Committee and the Community Services Director to resume my consulting activities in the native community. Together with I. N. Glick, I visited Grande Cache at least once a month. Throughout the time I had worked with the native community, I felt somewhat uncomfortable with some of the behavior I witnessed because I did not understand why people were making the decisions they did. Although I regarded myself as an applied anthropologist who had certain skills and experience in the area of development, my areal training had been in terms of Asia, not the area of Indian studies. I often wished that I had had the time



to do an ethnographic study of the Grande Cache Metis-Cree. Perhaps even more important, I believed that a person in my position should, to be effective, fluently speak the language of his clients. But the demands of my involvement left little time for a full scale assault on these problems. As a result, I worried about whether or not my perceptions of their behaviors was really accurate. By accident I discovered Chance's book, Conflict in Culture; Problems of Developmental Change Among the Cree. Although I wished the arguments had been developed more fully, I was struck by the appropriateness of his observations to what I was witnessing at Grande Cache. The notion of stress as a part of development change seemed to fill an important gap in my understanding about why people made particular choices.

In the fall of 1972 I agreed to work full time for the Native Area Development Committee, with my wages being paid by the Department of Northern Development of the Government of Alberta. For me this was a particularly difficult time because I was convinced that there was ample opportunity to circumvent the disastrous course of events that seemed to accompany native contact with Eurocanadians in other communities. I had known many of the native families in the first two years of intensive contact and







was dismayed by what I perceived as destructive changes taking place in their lives. Increasingly, my time was spent trying to lobby for government support for the native community. The important task of working directly with the Committee and the community was later taken over by a capable consultant hired directly by the Committee.

In the fall of 1973 I resumed a part-time role as consultant for the Committee. By the spring of 1974 things had deteriorated to such an extent that the Committee requested funds to study work absenteeism among native people. They were concerned by the increasingly hostile attitude of employers toward native workers as well as the high rate of native alcoholism. Increasingly, native people were also using harmful alcohol substitutes, such as hairspray. Welfare payments to residents seemed to be increasing, as well as cases of child neglect. I could remember vividly only a few years before when employers regarded native workers as their best employees and when native people proudly informed me that no one was on welfare, except the old people.

During the study, employers were interviewed to ascertain their perceptions of native workers. Employees were also interviewed concerning their perception of the



changes which had affected them during the last years as well as their attitudes toward their work. As part of the study, I reviewed the literature on Cree culture and was once again struck by the relevance of Norman Chance's work. Moreover, it occurred to me that the native people had suddenly become strangers in their own land. Perhaps their responses were similar to those experienced by visitors to a foreign country, that is, they experienced "Culture Shock". I later developed that explanation in the report for the Native Area Development Committee, The Dilemma of Wage Labour. Later, I began to wonder if that explanation did not also apply to the non-natives. I decided to pursue that line of reasoning by investigating the literature on cognitive anthropology as well as that on stress. As a result, I became convinced that these concepts provided a reasonable tool for understanding and explaining the events which I had witnessed in Grande Cache.

It is customary in chapters on research methods to point out possible weaknesses in the method. I feel that my investigations of the new town would have profitted considerably if I had been able to work underground in the mine. Much of my data deals with either non-miners or with conditions described by the miners. Although I did manage



to go underground on several occasions, these journeys, although fascinating, could hardly suffice for the valuable experience of working and observing conditions in the mine on a daily basis.

Our decision to cooperate with the CSD on the community survey, although reasonable at the time, did not prove completely wise in the end. The survey was not finished until halfway through our study. The data were then not available from the government computing center until about eight months later. We could have used the information within the first four months to more quickly establish social parameters for the town and allow us to focus more sharply on specific processes or events.

Another dilemma was in thoroughly underestimating the enormity of the task we had set for ourselves. We had one child in diapers and another which was born during the field season. The original design, which had been based on two full-time researchers, would have been difficult to accomplish in itself, but with the responsibilities of a young family it was impossible. As a result, the data were better developed in some aspects than in others. Most notably, we had more complete information on those sectors





of the town which were easily accessible to us, i.e., the teachers, professionals, and merchants.

During the first year I made a point of not collecting systematic information about the Metis although I was often curious about things I observed. At that time none of the native people lived in the town and I felt that my mandate did not include them. Moreover, I found their company and friendship a refreshing and welcome change from the dilemmas of everyday field work. To turn the friendship to professional advantage, I felt, was unethical. If I had made their acquaintance for research purposes and announced my intent at the start, I would have felt right about recording the events I witnessed. When later I studied certain aspects of their life, I did so with their permission. This study, as a whole, however, would have benefitted if I had spent my leisure time studying the native community because it would have afforded a more comprehensive picture of their transition.

In re-reading my field notes, I am struck by the fact that I have focused heavily on the dilemmas confronting both the Eurocanadians and the Metis-Cree. This reflected my real concerns. At the time I saw what I considered to be an enormous amount of unnecessary pain and suffering





experienced by both new towners and natives as a result of ignorant and parochial government policies, many of which persist to this day. As a person and as an applied anthropologist, I attempted to intervene when I felt a positive contribution could be made. Consequently, much of my attention was focused upon understanding and devising humane solutions to the dilemmas I saw. As a result, I am open to the charge of bias by compromising the role of "pure" researcher, as well as focusing on only the negative aspects of life in the town. On the other hand, I tried to hold the content of my involvement in clear view and so control for it. Nevertheless, this study does emphasize the dilemmas of the new town life to a greater extent than the virtues. Hence, the reader is confronted with a situation not unlike that which surrounded the Redfield-Lewis debate about their studies of Tepoztlan, that is, a situation in which the researchers' particular interests filtered and focused the content of the study. Perhaps a later researcher can balance the ledger.

#### Specific Comments

The foregoing section was a narrative on the development of this study. The discussion touched upon the development of ideas and constructs related to the study, a brief discussion of the field tactics, community-



researcher relations and some tactical dilemmas encountered. Several other points are of importance: the usefulness of these particular methods given the problems selected for study, the validity of the data obtained, and the ethical stance of the researchers.

This study was initially perceived as an exploratory study of Canadian, single industry new towns from which to identify and extract particular problems for specific investigation. Naturally, I did not enter the field without preconceived ideas about what I would find. I had read newspaper accounts of the town and had made one short visit to the town in 1969. Although the newspaper accounts and the visit were very suggestive, they were hardly solid enough to allow for the careful specification of key variables. Rather, I perceived the town as being without the usual intricate networks of social relations found in more established communities. I was aware that people had been recruited from diverse backgrounds and suspected that the town would be a kaleidoscope of socio-cultural aggregates without many connections between them. I was interested in the composition and relations, both internal and external, of these aggregates as they attempted to sort out their relations. I was assuming that, given the diversity of people's backgrounds, integration would not be automatic,



but that some sort of linkages would eventually be established between various groups. Most of the literature I consulted concerning network analysis seemed to be based on already established systems, rather than developing ones (Mitchell 1968, 1969; Barnes 1969; Dahlberg 1971). Yet, I felt that during the early stages of town development, a widespread, systemic development had not occurred. I was interested, therefore, in how and why this might occur. For this reason and because I was not altogether sure that my hunches about the social realities of the new town were true, I decided to participate and observe, as much as possible, the social relations taking place during the first three to six months of the study. The plan was to focus on particular events or sets of relations once I had established some basis of discrimination.

In a time when considerable understanding had been gained regarding certain types of phenomena, it is easy to forget both that there still remain sectors of experience where an open-ended exploratory approach is needed and that such an approach, using the well-established techniques of participant observation, can yield valuable theoretical insights. The following comments proffered by two sociologists studying an organization is, I believe, relevant.







Studies oriented to an understanding of an organization and its local circumstances rather than to demonstrating relations between variables need not be untheoretical. But the person doing such research assumes that he does not know enough before beginning his study to identify relevant problems and hypotheses in the organization chosen for study nor to recognize valid indicators of the theoretical variables in which he is interested. He believes that a major part of his research must consist of finding out what problems he can best study in this organization, what hypotheses will be fruitful and worth pursuing, what observations will best serve him as an indicator of the presence of such phenomena as, for example, cohesiveness or deviance. (Becker and Geer 1960:268)

Perhaps, to one unacquainted with the craft of participant observation, it would appear that the researcher pursuing such an approach merely wanders about in an aimless fashion sampling bits of the social flotsam and jetsum which interest him, or that he assumes the onerous task of trying to understand everything going on about him. Although the research procedures are not the rigorous and sequential ones associated with controlled experiments, they, nevertheless, constituted a continual process of analysis and procedural modification.

...The fact that the participant observer constantly redesigns his study as he uncovers new data deserves to be taken very seriously. It indicates that he engages in analytic activity most of the time that he is in the field.



...In the field the observer looks for problems and concepts that give promise of yielding the greatest understanding of the organization he is studying, and he looks for items which may serve as useful indicators of facts which are harder to observe.

...The selection of indicators for more abstract variables occurs in two ways: the observer may become aware of some very specific phenomena first and later see that it may be used as an indicator of some larger phenomena and he may have the larger problem in mind and search for specific examples and indicators to use in studying it. (Becker and Geer 1960:270-273).

The point is that these analytic processes are creatively proceeding continuously as new data become available and constructs are developed, checked out and accepted, rejected, or modified. Frequently, as a result of new information, the researcher develops a line which differs significantly from the original design. This thesis, as I believe the narrative demonstrates, developed out of this creative process. The short term usefulness became evident while doing the two studies of the native community. Stress and culture shock become integrating concepts as a result of applied work in the native community. The general applicability of these two concepts in explaining events in the new town became apparent later.



This process of analytic refinement and development, although typical of the participant observation process, stretched over a period of five years. This was both an advantage and a disadvantage. It was an advantage in that it allowed more time for observation and cross checking. It was a disadvantage in that as the town grew, time passed and roles of the researchers changed. One can then ask how widespread were these observations and how were they verified, given the diversified nature of my activities over the time span spent in Grande Cache.

The answer lies in the description quoted earlier of the participant observation process. Substantiation of constructs is an integral part of the analytic process. Moreover, the researcher seeks to collect as many instances as possible in order to determine that, in fact, a particular construct applies to a sufficiently wide range of phenomena to be a useful conceptual device. Moreover, the researcher checks for congruence between the various indicators he selects.

The key to data quality control in participant observation is, thus, the thorough use of multiple indicants of any particular fact and on insistance in a very high degree of consonance among indicants, tracking down and accounting for any contrary results.  
(McCall 1969:130)





In exploratory studies, such as this one, the researcher must be satisfied with less than precise measurement of particular indicators, due simply to the fact that constructs are usually not sufficiently well-formulated during the project to allow for precise verification. As McCall (1969:230-238) in another discussion points out, considerable rigor can be imparted to qualitative data through such measurement techniques as "pinpointing." But the fact that such a process as pinpointing is not even possible at certain stages does not detract from the usefulness of the study or of the concepts developed. In this study, for example, I have not claimed extreme conceptual precision. Rather, I have presented sufficient descriptive data to illustrate that the behaviors described were sufficiently widespread to indicate their general occurrence and, therefore, conceptual usefulness for the population studied. The refinement and development of precise indicators and measurement of these concepts remains the task of the future researcher.

I would like to note that during the time when the various aspects of the theoretical framework presented here were being integrated, I decided to recheck particular aspects of the scheme. More particularly, I wanted to further substantiate the existence of the various indicators





of culture shock which I was postulating for the Eurocanadian community. Hence, I consulted both the Crump Commission Report and the more than one thousand pages of Crump Commission testimony. I also travelled to Grande Cache to interview informants concerning the adjustment of women in Grande Cache. I interviewed the executive of the miners' union regarding their perceptions of the events which I considered significant. I obtained additional materials on manpower turnover and adjustment from provincial manpower officials who had worked at Grande Cache. I checked with the police and social workers concerning other aspects relating to my earlier observations in social pathology. Teachers, the town administrator, native leaders, the lawyer for the native land settlement, and the present consultant for the natives were also interviewed. These additional checks were all undertaken during 1975-1976.

Given the rather controversial position surrounding much of social research these days, I feel it would be useful to elaborate some further aspects of my ethical stance while in Grande Cache. We felt that we should make every effort to indicate our purpose in studying the town, our funding sources and the uses to which our data would be put. Within a short time after we arrived, our presence was generally known in town. Nevertheless, when we interviewed



we clearly identified ourselves and answered to the best of our ability any questions regarding our study. This "open" policy, although causing us some discomfort initially, i.e., the school board member already cited, on the whole facilitated rather than inhibited our research. We found people generally were not only willing to talk but sometimes sought us out to proffer information. Naturally, we were aware that this sometimes produced informant selectivity and bias (Vidich & Bensman 1954). We attempted to get around this through our interviewing techniques and by seeking diversity in our informants.

My position vis a vis research in the native community has already been elaborated in an earlier section. Suffice it to say, I tried not to collect information until my role as a researcher was established.

The notion of reciprocity in field work (Wax 1952) is an important one. I mentioned earlier that we undertook lectures for teachers in exchange for their cooperation. We also presented slide presentations and talks to various voluntary associations. Moreover, we agreed to present a copy of our manuscript to the town library. This latter aspect of reciprocity I view with trepidation because as Becker (1964) pointed out the people studied do not always



share the researcher's interpretation and perceptions of events. Nevertheless, I feel that the researcher has an obligation both to take responsibility for his work by sharing it with those who have cooperated in the venture.

The issue of reciprocity in terms of the native community was somewhat different. I was at various times their direct employee. In that sense, I conducted research which was of direct benefit to them. At various times I acted and have continued to act, although not as frequently, as an intermediary between them and agencies in the outside world. I also made available my time and vehicle to native people who lived in isolated areas in order to travel back and forth to the hospital or for other important destinations. They have, I might add, reciprocated warmly in terms of friendship and in terms of sharing with me what resources they had.





## CHAPTER IV

### THE CONTEXT OF DEVELOPMENT

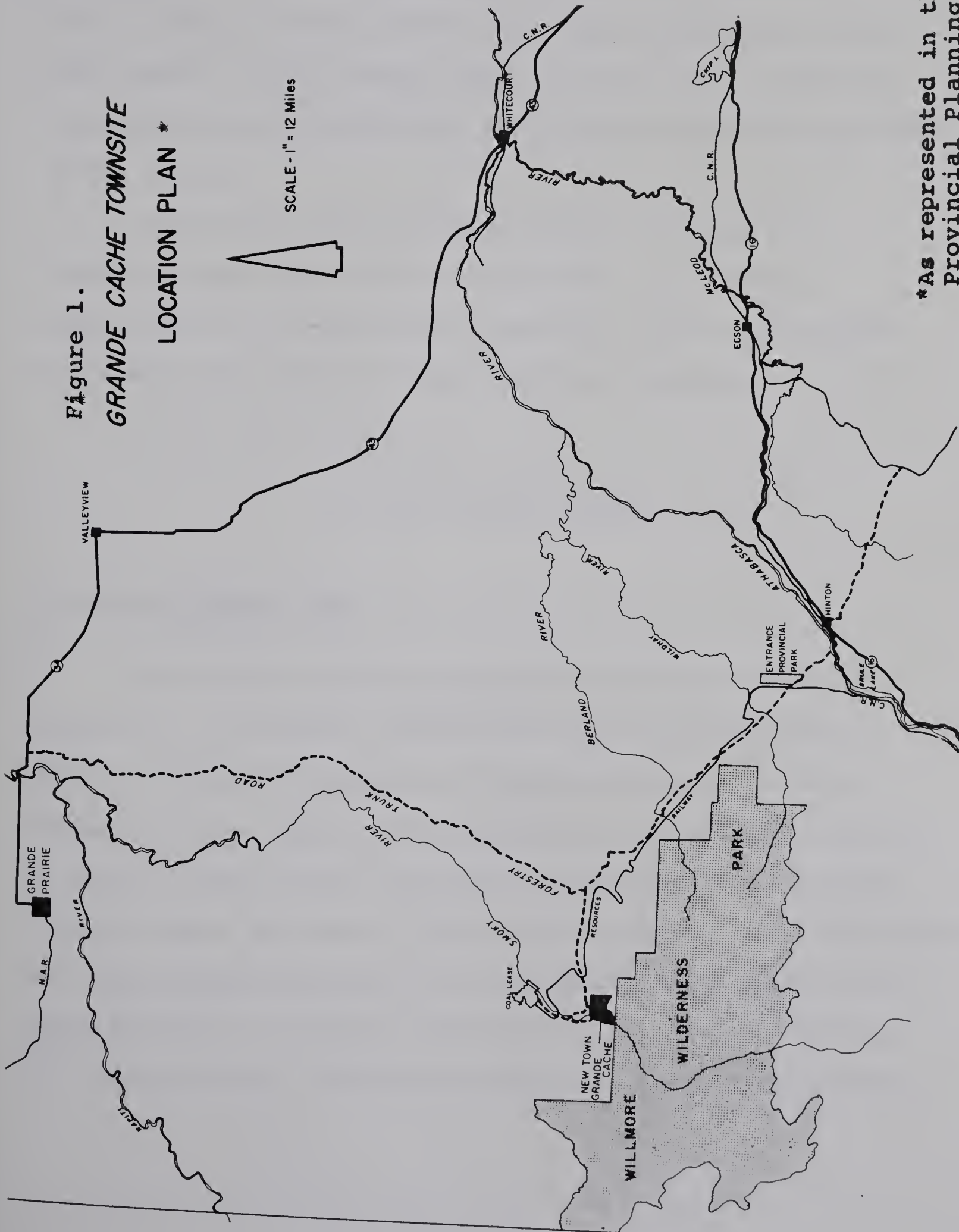
The purpose of this chapter is to provide a setting for later discussion. A brief sketch of the history and social organization of the native peoples is presented so that the discussion of adaptation to industrialization may be compared to the nonindustrial adaptation extant prior to the construction of the new town. Next, the discussion turns to the efforts of government and industry to develop the region, which culminated in the construction of a railroad and coal mine and a new town at Grande Cache. Finally, the discussion describes the attitudes of government and mine management in planning the town, as well as the characteristics of the population which ensued.

Grande Cache is located ninety miles northwest of the town of Hinton, Alberta. To the west and north lie the mountains of Willmore Wilderness Park, while to the north and east lie the rugged foothills of the Rockies' eastern slopes. The area is drained by the Smoky, Sulpher, Berland, Muskey, and Kakwa Rivers, to name only a few of the larger rivers. The area has long been a favorite of sportsmen the



Figure 1.  
GRANDE CACHE TOWNSITE  
LOCATION PLAN \*

SCALE - 1" = 12 Miles



\*As represented in the  
Provincial Planning  
Board Report, 1966.



world over, for it is abundant in big game and fish. Sheep, goats, caribou, moose, elk, and grizzly are all in good supply. Dolly Varden char, rainbow trout, grayling, and Rocky Mountain Whitefish are eagerly sought by sportsmen in the rivers.

The region also contains timber suitable for logging, large deposits of coking coal, and gypsum. Considerable oil exploration has taken place in the area and there are rumors of large iron ore deposits.

## The Indigenous People

### Historical Background

The history and prehistory of the Grande Cache region is, at present, vague with only the highlights known. Several University of Alberta researchers have begun to piece together the available information. In 1968 a single fluted clovis point was discovered along a river terrace above the Smoky River, which suggests human habitation of considerable antiquity in the region (Bonnichsen, 1969). More recently, a research team led by John Brink, working in the same area, discovered additional supporting evidence





of early habitation. The present native population can point to the remains of historic fur trade sites which have yet to be excavated.

In 1972 Trudy Nicks<sup>1</sup> was commissioned by the native community to prepare an historical report of the area. Nicks' report provided references to the region from the early 1800s to the present. The present population of about 220 persons is closely linked to a larger group extending from the Hinton-Obed-Marlboro area in the south to the Grande Prairie-Sturgeon Lake region in the north. Until the early part of this century the group's westward extension was to the present town of Jasper and eastward to the Lac Ste. Anne settlements.

Nicks provides accounts of the early contacts with ancestors of the Grande Cache settlers. She states that by the mid-nineteenth century the Beaver Indians lived along Peace River and the Sikoni, Shuswap and Assiniboine dwelt in the country to the south. Moreover, David Thompson reported encountering small parties of Iroquois, former employees of the fur trade companies, hunting along the east foot of the Rocky Mountains. By 1822 Iroquois were settled on the Smoky River. In 1832 Father Lacombe reported meeting an old man named Joachim, the founder of the Jasper Iroquois.

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<sup>1</sup>Trudy Nicks is a Ph.D. candidate in Anthropology at the University of Alberta. Her dissertation required the collection of ethnohistorical data.





In 1905 a geologist recorded meeting members of the Moberly family living along the Athabaska River in Jasper Park. They were descendents of Henry John Moberly, a Hudson Bay factor who lived in Jasper Valley in the 1850s.

In 1910, when Jasper National Park was created, those native families without legal title to their land were evicted from the park. Avon and John Moberly, Isadore Findlay and Adam Joachim were among those forced to depart with their families. According to the reports of the old-timers, they were told to go north and settle wherever they chose. Some of them resettled in the Entrance and Muskeg areas. The Plants and McDonalds were already living near Rock Lake. Albert Norris, an old-timer living in Muskeg, was a member of the Lewis Swift household in Jasper. The Swifts were the only family which owned their land outright and could not be evicted.

The Agnes, Wanyandi, and Delorme families were, at that time, already settled near Grande Cache. The Agnes family of Assiniboine stock dates its origins to Lac Ste. Anne at the beginning of the century; while the Wanyandi family seems to have been in the area for considerable time. Their origin has been traced to an Iroquois immigrant from Eastern Canada in the late 18th century.



Not all of the families presently living in the Grande Cache area have lived there for so long a time. The head of the present Desjarlais family came from Lac Ste. Anne and married a Plante near Entrance before moving north to settle in Muskeg in the mid 1950s. More recently, families have been formed as a result of marriages between Eurocanadians, Chippewas, and local Metis-Cree residents.

Nicks goes on to mention some families, such as the Gladus and Gauchies, which are no longer represented in the male lines. Their fate as yet has not been deciphered. Karakonties are another family of considerable antiquity. Although Nicks' report mentions a Karakonti as early as 1863, presently only one male Karakonti lives in Grande Cache.

As trappers, the early inhabitants of the region appeared to be highly mobile, moving around continually in search of fur and game. The rich meadows of the river valleys provided winter habitat not only for game, but for horses and men as well. Wooden tipis constructed of stout poles with moss chinking were favorite winter dwellings. Log cabins seemed to have gained acceptance much later, perhaps when registered traplines were introduced in the thirties.



At the turn of the century, Edmonton was a key supply point. Old-timers still remember the difficult fourteen day pack trips in the spring and fall. Following the trading sessions many trappers went on to Lac Ste. Anne to the religious pilgrimage at the mission there.<sup>1</sup> Upon their return, the Wanyandi family regularly cached supplies at different points to be used by themselves and to be sold to other trappers during the winter.

As the western foothills became more accessible through the construction of the railroad, they were occupied by numerous and colorful Eurocanadian trappers. These men, some of whom still live around the hamlet of Entrance, travelled and intermingled freely with the natives of the region.

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<sup>1</sup>"A religious pilgrimage was first held at Lac Ste. Anne in 1889. The idea of holding a pilgrimage is attributed to Father Lestronc (MacGregor 1973:65) of the mission which was established at Lac Ste. Anne in 1845. The feast day of Ste. Anne is July 26, but the pilgrimage is always held on the Wednesday closest to that date. Today this event attracts native people from western provinces and some of the northern states. It is interesting to note that Lac Ste. Anne has long been held sacred by the Indians, being known to them as God's Lake long before Roman Catholic priests blessed its waters" (Nicks 1972:2).





## The Seasonal Round

As hunters and trappers, the Grande Cache natives shared much with the Cree who inhabited the bush from northern Alberta to Quebec. A notable exception, however, was their dependence on the horse as a primary means of transportation, rather than the canoe or dogsled. Like Cree-speaking people elsewhere, their activities varied according to the seasons, with significant events occurring during each portion of the year.

### Fall-Winter

Following the summer round of activities, some trappers hired out to white outfitters as big game guides. Others did their own outfitting. Late fall signalled the move to disperse along traplines. Cabins located in sheltered spots with good forage for the horses became homebase for the winter. Men and boys travelled out from these central points in search of fur and game. Small shelters and cabins were often constructed along major trapping routes for use on longer trips.

Although wild meat was a major diet item, the people also depended upon such store-bought necessities as flour. Resupply was a major problem until the time the New Town



was constructed. Although the people sometimes travelled the 100 miles to Grande Prairie, most people journeyed south 90 miles to the hamlet of Entrance. In winter the snow was often deep, sometimes as high as the paniers on the horses, making travel difficult and sometimes dangerous. Several families would often band together for mutual assistance on the annual midwinter resupply trip.

Upon arrival in Entrance, they would "Hello" the store to let the storekeeper know they had arrived so that he would supply wood and hay at the cabin on the hill which he kept reserved for them. As soon as the fires were lit and the horses unpacked, someone would be sent to buy a few immediately needed grocery items.

A variety of shopping patterns evolved between the storekeeper and the native customers. The trappers had to be able to judge as accurately as possible how much food they would need until spring and then declare for the maximum amount possible for their furs. If they did not have sufficient furs to cover the cost of supplies, they were extended credit. The storekeeper set credit limits for each customer. Those with more furs than they needed to cover their expenses could either leave it on account or



take the money with them.<sup>2</sup>

A celebration accompanied the finish of trading. With either some of the surplus money in their pockets or a loan from the storekeeper, the trappers went to the taverns of nearby Hinton for some drinking. The trading and celebrating took three or four days, after which the long trek home began. Unless struck by catastrophe, they would not return again until the end of trapping season in the spring.

#### Spring-Summer

Spring was a festive time for the native trappers. The isolation and hardship of the winter was over. The journey south to sell the winter catch of fur signalled the beginning of the summer social activities. Unlike the winter visit to Entrance, which was undertaken on some individual's initiative, the end of trapping signalled the exodus to the south. The last family over the trail set

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<sup>2</sup>This practice differed significantly from the procedures established by the Hudson Bay Company whereby a trapper was not able to extract surplus money from the furs and take it with him.





fire to the meadows as they passed, thus ensuring that there would be green grass when they returned.<sup>3</sup>

Joachim Flats, near Jarvis Lake at Entrance was a favorite summer camping spot for the Grande Cache people. Old-timers recall seeing as many as seventeen tipis around the end of the lake. When the furs were traded and supplies obtained, the people sought out friends and relatives, beginning the summer's social activities. Weddings, catechism classes, dances, and parties made up some of the important social summer events. The highlight of the summer was the annual pilgrimage to Lac Ste. Anne, some sixty miles from Edmonton. Before modern road systems were developed, the entire trip was made on horseback.

By August women had begun drying meat and rendering fat for the winter. The men proceeded in groups to Grande Cache to hay. When the haying was completed, the men returned to collect their families. In the fall some trappers served as packers and guides for hunting parties. Those who remained behind continued the preparations for winter. Cabins were repaired, food cached, and equipment readied.

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<sup>3</sup> Old-time inhabitants of the region reported that seasonal burning appears to have been widely practiced by both Eurocanadians and Indians to ensure that adequate pasturage for stock was available. The practice, however, was discontinued by order of forestry officials.





## Social Organization

Throughout the seasons the basic social unit was the nuclear family, composed of husband, wife, and children. Friends and relatives might attach themselves at different times, but the land could not support large population aggregates for any extended period of time.

Although certain tasks were traditionally allotted to specific family members, the arrangements were flexible enough to allow others to take over in cases of illness or otherwise conditioned absence. The interdependency of roles is illustrated by an excerpt from Trudeau (1966: 47-48) (in reference to Grande Cache people, omit references to dogsleds and fish weirs).

After the husband left in the morning, his wife helped by her daughter and young children, started her chores in and around the cabin or wigwam. The first hour or so was devoted to gathering, sawing and splitting firewood. Then, the rounds of the rabbit snares were made and, on the way back to the camp fish were retrieved from fish weirs placed in small streams or gill nets set in the lake or the river. The woman also set a few mink traps around the cabin. After she came back and after having eaten a little, the woman worked on pelts, first skinning the animals, then stretching and cleaning skins. In the afternoon she



repaired or made nets or wove rabbit skin blankets or made moccasins or mittens, or she netted snow shoes for herself, her husband and children. When her husband arrived, the woman took charge of his game bag, hung up his clothes and prepared the evening meal. After eating and a few moments of leisurely talk, everyone went to bed.

From time to time, the woman, more especially her daughter, performed other chores such as washing clothes or changing the evergreen branches on the floor. The husband often spent the day, following a long trapping trip, at the cabin working on his trapping and hunting gear. Once in a while, he helped his wife saw and split firewood and fetch water.

The foregoing excerpt describes the tasks of the trapping season. In other words, although some of the routines could change, interdependence remained.

Native children in Grande Cache and elsewhere acquired the skills for adulthood much earlier than their Eurocanadian neighbors. In the traditional setting they assumed certain responsibilities as soon as they were physically able to do so. They tended horses, cut wood, trapped, and hunted small game before they were able to perform all tasks expected of an adult. Although they did not necessarily master all of these tasks, native young people in their mid-teens were fully accomplished adults.



The socialization process stressed responsibility and learning by doing things. Before 1958, native children did not attend school in the formal sense, but rather they observed adults and older children and imitated them. For example, children would rope cats and dogs and pretend that they were catching wild horses or build small traps and snares in the bushes near the house in the pursuit of imaginary game. Sometimes they would cut logs and build small cabins to play in, practising the more domestic arts. Until very recently, such learning patterns continued. As the children developed strength, they became progressively incorporated into the daily domestic routine. Parents and older siblings instructed them in the accomplishment of specific tasks. Such achievements as a child's first rabbit caught in a snare or a first pair of moccasins made were rewarded by adults. Along each step of the way, the family ideally guided and prepared the children for adulthood.

Some people developed specific talents for certain tasks and were acknowledged for these abilities. One person might be especially skilled at making drums, while another was very good at sharpening crosscut saws. Distinctive talents were given recognition and, whenever possible, the







skills of such specialists were used. Such behavioral patterns by the native people developed into extensive reciprocal relationships with neighbors.

Co-operation was considered an important virtue. Old-timers like to contrast the co-operation prevalent in the past with the lack of it in the present. The isolation, combined with the rigor of the environment, made some mutual assistance mandatory if group survival was to be ensured.

In their traditional society, resources for survival were scarce. Competition and conflict presented a threat to everyone and were to be avoided. In describing the eastern Cree, Chance (1968:20-21) writes

...some of the most important social adaptations characteristic of traditional Cree life included definitions of hunting and trapping territories so as to reduce social conflicts stemming from competition for scarce resources in a given region; reciprocal group members emphasizing individual competence and self-reliance in a bush environment; strong solidarity between fathers, sons, and brothers who were responsible for the subsistence of the hunting group members; and the techniques of decision-making and social control which limited aggressive behavior though to be a threat to the continued existence of the group.



He goes on to describe the cognitive organization of the Cree.

Two features of this cognitive organization were particularly pronounced: (1) restraint and control in all interpersonal relations, and (2) dependence on "supernatural" power which provided all living things in the universe.

The non-assertive interpersonal aspects of this cognitive patterning were reflected in deep, internal controls over the expressions of aggression, fear, pain, hunger, and other threat-provoking stimuli; and an "inward" rather than achievement-oriented personality (illustrated by submission to dream control), lack of competition, boasting or any form of self-aggrandisement; quiet endurance in the face of deprivation or hardship; a fatalistic approach to the world; reticence in self-expression; and general hesitance to intervene in the lives of others.

Although there does not seem to have been the hunting territory distribution common in the east, the other characteristics described by Chance seemed to fit the Grande Cache people. In cases of conflict, trappers frequently chose to move on rather than to directly confront persons with whom they were in conflict. Reticence in social expression was an important personal virtue.



Self-aggrandisement and malicious gossip were considered inappropriate, while generosity and cooperation were valued.

In describing child rearing patterns, elders reported that children were taught to respect their elders. However, the concept of respect and its associated behavior seemed to differ significantly from those which surrounded concepts of authority in Eurocanadian society. Age signified the acquisition of knowledge. Ideally, children were regarded as developing adults who had not yet acquired knowledge, and, thus, they were not permanently subject to inferior positions. The norms specified that decision-making was based upon discussion and mutual consent, not upon the arbitrary imposition of one person's will upon the others. As a child matured, he or she was progressively included in the discussions and the decision-making process. Adolescents who had acquired the necessary skills and maturity were treated as adults. Thus, adult development supposedly occurred in the early teens.

Respect for the rights and wishes of an individual was also accepted as an important norm; thus, it was considered improper for one person to speak on behalf of another, unless that person had given his explicit consent.





Therefore today, native leaders, operating in a quasi-Eurocanadian leadership system, invoke traditional norms by frequently declining invitations to speak for their people without having first consulted them and been given permission to speak on their behalf.

The Eurocanadian concept of leadership in those settings poses a number of significant problems. Traditionally, a native leader was one whose advice was asked on particular matters. He was in that position because of the skills or wisdom which he had acquired. He (or she) had no mandate to command or control others in the more generalized sense commonly associated with role expectations of Eurocanadian leaders.

Survival in the traditional setting demanded discipline and planning. Any individual who did not keep up his end of family responsibilities was a liability; thus, even children, according to informants, were given little opportunity to renege on chores. One informant vividly recalls the switchings he received from his mother after neglecting his wood-gathering or forgetting to tend the horses. The need for planning became unequivocally evident when trips to the store to procure supplies often involved negotiating hundreds of miles of difficult





terrain. Apparently, there were some exceptions, however. Nicks (1972:12) reported that one member of the community outfitted caches in the area which were later available for either personal use or resale to others, thus necessitating fewer supply trips.

Elders reported that food brought from Entrance was often rationed to prolong its existence. Children received candy on a day-by-day quota. Other items were rationed as well, including liquor. Many informants reported that liquor was brought in for the Christmas celebration and then carefully stored until the holiday arrived. Despite the careful planning, shortages would occur because many families were large and only a limited amount of food could be imported by horse. Eventually, by the time it was necessary to go for supplies, most families were restricted to eating meat, tea, and bannoc.

#### Patron-Client Relationships

Unfamiliar to any great extent with Eurocanadian culture, the Metis-Cree of Grande Cache, like isolated natives elsewhere, became dependent upon certain key Eurocanadians to negotiate for other goods and services from the outside world. Initially, of course, their



contact with Eurocanadian civilization was limited to that with the trader, the priest, or the government official--- individuals who, in addition to pursuing their particular duties, provided a variety of other services. They performed, as it were, the roles of cultural broker, patron and go-between, depending on the circumstances.<sup>4</sup> For example, in many northern areas, apart from trading with the native people, Hudson Bay Company managers often supplied odd jobs, distributed mail, provided credit, and passed out government vouchers. In return, the native people supplied items such as furs for trade or imparted to the white man skills peculiar to native culture. Such a relationship spared the native people from learning the variety of complex social forms required to interact in

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<sup>4</sup>It is also useful to distinguish, as Paine (1971:8-21) has between the sorts of role definitions assigned to the category of Patron, Cultural Broker, and Go-Between. Paine notes, "The patron recruits followers by his power to dispense favors." But, ultimately, the distinction between the patron and the client is that there is a value exchange between them and these are of the patron's choosing. The broker, on the other hand, is a middleman who attracts followers who believe him able to influence the patron. He is a purveyor of values not his own, with the capacity to make changes of content. The go-between, on the other hand, simply purveys the values without manipulation.



white society. La Rusic (1968) described this arrangement as a "Patron-Client Relationship".<sup>5</sup>

The people of Grande Cache used this system. Some of the old-time outfitters apparently established these relationships with their guides. Wives and children lived at the outfitter's home base during the guide's absence, and were permitted to purchase groceries from the outfitter's store. The native families were given rides to town and back for shopping expeditions. The outfitters regularly supplied their guides with necessary equipment, the cost of which was deducted from the guide's wages. Moreover, they wrote letters, interceded with local officials on the guide's behalf and facilitated the transferrance of bits of knowledge across cultural barriers.

Storekeepers also established these relationships. Thus, when an old-time storekeeper of Entrance decided to sell out in the early 1950s, he invited the native people of Grande Cache to find a buyer acceptable to them. They selected a man who had been in the Forestry Service and whom they knew was sympathetic to them. After assuming ownership of the store, this individual proved his worth to them: he arranged for hazardous emergency winter trips to the hospital, negotiated personal loans, helped with

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<sup>5</sup>La Rusic (1968) distinguishes between the type of services provided by a patron as "General" or "Specific".







correspondence to the government, and assisted in recruiting individuals for sportmen who had requested the services of a guide. Similarly, when a forestry station was established at Muskeg, the rangers assumed some of the same patron functions. So, too, did the owner of the small store established shortly thereafter at Muskeg. Viewed as a new patron, this man was expected to furnish the same credit services offered by the storekeeper at Entrance. Forestry personnel assisted this man in his acculturation, explaining that such services were traditional and assuring him that the native people were particularly responsible about paying their debts. Other local functionaires, such as priests, performed patron functions.<sup>6</sup>

#### Casual Work

Prior to the building of the town of Grande Cache, wage labor was a summer activity, regarded as a source of additional income rather than as a prerequisite for survival. Consequently, it was easily integrated into the traditional lifestyle. It did not require excessive

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<sup>6</sup>One priest was notable for his devotion to his role as patron. It was reported that he arranged poker parties, smuggled furs, and bootlegged moonshine, all in the quest, of gaining the religious loyalty of his native parishioners.



contact with non-native persons, nor did it interfere with an individual's other commitments. Such casual work included employment with the Forestry Service, with a local mill operator, and with government representatives or outfitters undertaking pack trips.

Employers<sup>7</sup> who hired native people in the pre-town period found them to be excellent workers and reliable employees. Most of their employees spoke little English. The employers reported that they tried to demonstrate rather than tell the native persons what needed to be done. Native workers had the reputation of being exceptionally quick to catch on to directions and to the use of new equipment. One employer suggested that frequently they were able to devise better solutions to a particular problem than were the employers. They had the reputation of seldom leaving a job before it was finished and rarely missing work for any reason. The employers characterized their employees as free and independent people with a great amount of pride. Some felt that it was necessary to get in and work themselves with their employees rather than just give them orders. One outfitter said that a pack trip was a fairly equal enterprise where the boss had to do his share of the "dirty" jobs. He felt that if he delegated

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<sup>7</sup> These employers included such persons as contractors, saw mill operators, forestry officials, surveyors and outfitters of sportsmen. The number of employers using Grande Cache natives at any one time appears to be relatively small, although few records are available. Yet most men had some experience working outside by the time the town was built.



all the dirty jobs to the natives, they would leave "in a minute."

Several employers remarked that the native employees preferred to work in a group or in teams. Once the task was assigned and explained, they required little or no supervision, regulating themselves in terms of organization, pace, and rest periods. Given such regulations, they tended to produce, according to an employer, more than a similar group of Eurocanadians.

#### Summary

The traditional way of life seemed to be well-integrated in terms of producing interlinked behaviors which maximized the potential for native people's survival in their mountain habitat. Environmental stressors arising from the demands of their hunting trapping lifestyle, were adequately met by their cultural knowledge. Stress arising as a result of culture contact was curtailed through the patron-client structure. Interpersonal stress, generated as a result of interaction between individuals within the group was curtailed through strong behavioral controls and conflict avoidance mechanisms. Thus in the traditional period, there existed an adequate system of cultural knowledge to cope with natural occurrences of either environmental or interpersonal stress.





## Industrialization

### The Beginning of Development

Although the Grande Cache region was not closed completely to outsiders, the difficulties inherent in negotiating the few routes into the area made it accessible only to the most hearty. In 1945-46 an oil company road was built from Entrance to Muskeg, a hamlet twenty-one miles south of Grande Cache. This became a major transportation route in the area. A forestry station was established at Muskeg in 1956. This road link, however primitive, had a noticeable influence on native transportation patterns. Trappers began to ride horses only as far as Muskeg when they needed supplies, hitch-hiking the rest of the way to Entrance. Because of the road, the foresters were able to provide emergency services to the native people.

In 1963 the Department of Lands and Forests extended the road to the airstrip just below the present site of the New Town of Grande Cache. This extension connected the native settlers at Grande Cache Lake, Victor Lake, and Suza Creek to the main Muskeg route. Only the people living along the Smoky River remained unreachable by road transportation.





When, in 1958, the first school was established in Muskeg, most of the families moved there for the summer, thus altering the place of summer residence. The families along the Smoky, however, remained detached from the school. While some of the Muskeg residents built permanent cabins, others preferred living in tents. When the school term was extended to Christmas, some families remained, camping in tents, so that their children could attend school. The establishment of a church at about the same time as the school was built further reinforced the relocation of the summer rendezvous to Muskeg. Trading, however, continued to focus at Entrance, although later a small store was started at Muskeg.

In addition to the white trappers, who from time to time visited the area, the mineral resources attracted geologists to the area as early as the 1920s. Leases were taken out by the Blue Diamond Coal Mine of Brule, Alberta in the vicinity of Grande Cache. In 1959 the Columbia Iron Company, a subsidiary of the U. S. Steel Corporation, took out options with McIntyre-Porcupine on the Blue Diamond holdings. The possibility of potential development in the area even attracted journalistic attention in the Edmonton Journal (Sept. 9, 1961).



Exploration is underway in the foothills northwest of Edmonton to determine the feasibility of mining high-grade coking coal deposits. Development could mean an initial fifty million dollar boost to Alberta's coal mining industry...

An Edmonton construction firm is estimating the cost of a town site, airstrip, access roads, and a water supply for a proposed town and mine. a United States geologist and forty men are working in the area where exploration work has been carried out for the past three years. It is reported that the United States Steel Corporation is behind the venture, and so far five hundred thousand dollars has been spent on the project.

Plans call for mining underground coal deposits, setting up a coking plant, and shipping coke by rail to the coast, and then by boat to Japan and a U. S. Steel plant and San Francisco.

The deep coal deposits were found in the Victor Lake and Grande Cache Lake areas, one hundred miles northwest of Hinton. An exploration camp has been set up at the junction of the Muskeg and Smoky Rivers where the townsite is planned. A town to accomodate five thousand persons is proposed. In addition, the Federal Department of Transport is considering construction of a six thousand foot landing strip and airfield, just outside the town. It is also reported that C. N. R. is studying the possibility of building a branch line from Brule to the site.



A ferry was rebuilt across the river for exploration purposes and a number of test holes have been bored to explore coal seams.

In charge of exploration is Dr. K. K. Landes, a geology professor from Ann Arbor Michigan. Dr. Landes has spent the past three summers in the area with a crew, exploring the coal deposits, studying the probable cost of mining it and the cost of setting up a mine. It is believed an annual production of coal would be three million tons.

The survey is to determine the costs of mining in this area, compared with the cost in the Crows Nest area of southern Alberta and British Columbia. It is thought building a new plant would be cheaper and production would be greater, than if an old mine were reopened.

Twenty-eight tunnels have been bored into seven thousand foot Mount Hommil and forty test holes have been drilled to check the extent of the coal deposits.

In the fall of 1962 the United States Steel Corporation, along with other U. S. steel producers were refused a price increase by President John F. Kennedy.<sup>8</sup> In retaliation, the United States Steel Corporation

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<sup>8</sup>The preceding quote from the Edmonton Journal as well as the following account of the political and industrial events which led to the development of Grande Cache are based upon material collected and reported by Van Dyke & Scambler (1973) of Applied Research Associates Ltd. Permission to use their data is gratefully acknowledged.





cancelled its plans for expansion. Exploration in the Grande Cache area ceased and the coal leases were purchased by McIntyre Porcupine Mines.

Following the transfer of leases, McIntyre-Porcupine began negotiations with Japanese industrialists for the sale of Alberta coal. Although the Japanese looked favorably on the negotiations, they required proof that there was a feasible way to convey coal to a west coast port. The negotiations reached a stalemate until sometime later when plans for the Alberta Resources Railway were announced.

#### The Alberta Resources Railway

Plans for a railroad link to the Grande Prairie agricultural regions with the main CN route to the coast via Brule began as early as 1930. The Prince Albert Daily Herald on May 6 suggested that a rail outlet from the Peace River District to the Pacific coast was promised in a political speech delivered by McKenzie King at Edmonton in November, 1924. The Canadian National and the Canadian Pacific jointly purchased the Northern Alberta Railways on an equal share basis. There seemed to be no clear reason why it was scrapped.



In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the CNR was approached by a variety of groups interested in resource development between the Canadian National mainline at Brule and Grande Prairie. Included in these groups were various lumber companies, a group of prospectors who had found gypsum deposits, and the United States Steel Corporation. The U. S. Steel Corporation lobbied for an outlet which would run either from Grande Prairie south to Brule or directly across country to join up with the Grand Trunk Railroad in British Columbia. This route, however, was considered unfeasible due to the difficulty of the terrain. The southward route to Brule seemed more feasible.

Negotiations between the CN and the Alberta government concerning the feasibility and appropriate governmental-railroad connection continued until 1965 when Premier Manning, in a speech to the legislature on February 23, announced both the railroad and the part the railroad was to play in eventual grand development of Alberta's north.

The first commercial development of the McMurray oil sands will give substantial impetus to northern industrial growth during the ensuing year. The total expenditures in excess of two hundred million dollars being committed for the construction



of plant, bridges, townsites, and other auxiliary development supplementing this large-scale industrial development in northeastern Alberta, my government believes that far-reaching additional economic benefits would accrue to the resource areas in the western portion of the province, north Canadian National line, were served by rail transportation linking those areas with the existing Canadian National Railway outlets to the seaboard. You will be asked to provide legislation under which my government can assure that such facilities will be provided...

...Now, if you will glance at the western section of the province, south of the Northern Alberta Railway, which runs from McLennan over to Dawson Creek, down through Grande Prairie, down to the Canadian National Mainline that goes through Solomon and through Jasper.

We have in that block, a very important resource area of this province. If you look at the map you will notice that there is typed in some of the resources that are known about in the area.

In the south and west towards the B.C. boundary, there is a substantial known deposit of gypsum. Just to the north is the area of coking coal that has been prominently in the limelight in the recent years, and which is regarded as one of the highest quality deposits of coking coal in this country. To the north of that area, we have a very rich timber area, sliding off into the area more suitable for pulp development as we approach the Grande Prairie region. There is, at the present time, a very active interest in the pulp development in that vicinity. A very responsible group is interested in proceeding with it, and we're hoping that something more will develop there in the future...





...We will be asking the House by legislation a little later in this session to establish a corporate entity which will be given the power to build and to own and to operate a railway. I repeat, it is not our intention to go into the physical construction and operation of railways as a government as through a corporation. We have conducted preliminary discussions with senior officers of the Canadian National Railway... (The CNR) assured us that, subject to satisfactory agreement which neither we nor they have any reason to doubt can be arrived at, they are prepared to enter into an agreement with such a corporation as I have mentioned under which they would build and operate and maintain any spur line built from their main line up to this area and later on extended north. The province would provide the capital for the construction of the line. The line would be leased to the Canadian National, who would build as an agent acting for the corporation and would undertake to operate and maintain it.

The announcement by the government apparently caught McIntyre Porcupine by complete surprise. They later complained that had they been forewarned about the railroad, they could have negotiated for a better price from the Japanese.

From the beginning of the talks with the Japanese, it had been obvious that if the coal contracts were signed and a mining operation begun on the Smoky River, a town





would be required to house the miners and service personnel.

### The New Towns Act

Legislation already extant at this time in Alberta provided for the creation of new communities. By this time such centers as Hinton, Drayton Valley, Rainbow Lake, and Fort McMurray had already been developed under the umbrella of this act.

The act provided for the presentation to the Provincial Planning Board by persons desiring to form a new town, of "all facts necessary for the establishment of a new town" (section 3). The Planning Board thereupon had the option of calling a public hearing, referring the application to the Local Authorities Board for a financial assessment or engaging consultants and technical experts to report on the proposed development. If the Provincial Planning Board believes the application to be satisfactory, the matter is referred to the Lieutenant Governor in Council who may form the new town.

The New Town Act, in essence, provides for the creation and maintenance of new towns until such time as the citizens of the town are capable of assuming full financial



and managerial responsibility. The initial management of the town falls under the authority of a Board of Administration appointed by the Minister of Municipal affairs. This Board may be composed of not more than seven members, who may be selected from "employees of the government, residents of the town and representatives of agencies, organizations, companies, or municipalities operating in a housing jurisdiction near the new town" (Section 8). The intent is that the elected representatives of the town shall eventually assume full responsibility for its affairs (See Appendix III).

When the announcement of the Alberta Resources Railway was made, making possible fulfillment of coal contracts with the Japanese, McIntyre-Porcupine submitted to the Alberta government manpower projections which specified the expected number of employees needed over time. The Department of Municipal Affairs, in turn, provided projection estimates for the number of support services and personnel required. As part of the overall agreement with the government, McIntyre-Porcupine made special concessions in two areas. The company wished that a hospital be one of the first items of construction to take place, and toward this end they contributed one quarter of a million dollars. Thus, the



town acquired a hospital before the population had reached the minimum figure provided by government legislation. Secondly, McIntyre-Porcupine contributed three hundred fifty thousand dollars to the building of an arena. Apparently, the motivation for the latter was that the company wished to relieve the boredom and feelings of isolation presumed to be felt by the miners.

It is important to point out that apparently from the first McIntyre-Porcupine did not wish to create nor preside over a company town. The New Town legislation of Alberta conveniently provided a framework for this resolution. That they consistently held to their position of non-interference in town matters often despite pleas from the miners to the company, will be shown in later chapters.

In its proposal to the government, the mining company requested services and amenities comparable to any other urban area in Alberta (Price & Hislop, 1970). Moreover, the town was to be located at a sufficient distance from the mine to ensure that coal dust and other industrial pollutants would not contaminate the town. Moreover, it should be planned in such a manner as not to detract from the natural beauty of the area. The government concurred to such an extent that they envisioned a "university of the humanities" being established in the area.





### Planning the New Town

During March of 1965, the Provincial Planning Board became aware of the proposal for the development of a new town in conjunction with the McIntyre coal development. The Provincial Planning Board commissioned a study which was subsequently presented to the Lieutenant Governor in Council on August, 1966. The report included the following recommendations:

- a) That the New Town of Grande Cache be established effective September 1, 1966.
- b) That the boundaries of the new town include in unsurveyed townships 57, Range 8 west of the sixth meridian: all of sections 2, 3, 4, and all that portions of section 5 which lie to the east of the center line of the Smoky River, and in unsurveyed township 56, Range 8, west of the sixth meridian: all of sections 20, 29, 33, 34, 35, and all those portions 17, 18, 19, 21, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, and 32 which lie to the east of the center line of Smoky River and to the north of the center line of Sulphur River and all road allowances as here and before set out.
- c) The Board of Administration be appointed by the Lt. Governor-in-Council in the following manner: Two members, one of whom shall be Chairman of the Board and both of whom shall be public servants of the province. At a later date such other public servants and local residents as he may be pleased to appoint.



- d) The Board of Administrators shall make recommendations at the appropriate time in respect of the holding of an election and the advisability of reconstituting the number of members to be elected by the electors of the new town.
- e) Before an election takes place, that the Lieutenant Governor-in-Council make regulations, in accordance with Section 6(3) of the New Towns Act, specifying the terms to be served by the elected members of the Board of Administrators.
- f) In accordance with the provision of Section 20 of the New Towns Act, the planning and development proposal for the New Town be prepared by officers and servants of the Provincial Planning Board.

One purpose of the Planning Board's function was to demonstrate the need for a new town. So, in addition to discussing the relation of the town to the coal industry, a study of possible other secondary industries which might possibly be integrated into the economy were discussed. Tourism, at that time, was seen as an important secondary industry, in addition to the development of other resource-based industries. It is interesting to speculate about why such secondary development never occurred.



Town development from the first was viewed as being contingent upon McIntyre-Porcupine's signing of a contract with the Japanese. The Planning Board wrote

On the basis that McIntyre-Porcupine Mines Ltd. proceed with the development of the coal resources, there will be need to commence providing the services and facilities of an urban center in 1967. On the basis of only the McIntyre-Porcupine operation the population of the new town would reach four thousand in 1973 and ultimately could reach five thousand with additional economic development. The first requirement will be to accomodate a total population of about 3,500 people in 1970.

Another purpose of the Planning Board's report was to assess the relative merits of the potential townsite. Nowhere in the report does the Board take into account the native residents of the region. Although Van Dyke and Scambler (1973:132-133) mentioned that a cabinet minister suggested Muskeg as a potential site, this was, according to the report, discarded because it would have required dislocating a number of native people. Finally, the Planning Board recommended the following site.

The site recommended for development is about eight miles south of the mining operation and is the only one having good characteristics of slope, soil drainage, water supply, and access, having space for expansion





the overall coordination of development. Although the Board had little real authority, it provided a forum for particular interest groups to express their needs to the government.

From the first, the McIntyre-Porcupine Company and the Government of Alberta collaborated on the development of Grande Cache. Each had a certain agenda for development. The province, of course, was bound by the New Towns Act. McIntyre apparently wanted to stay away from the expense and entanglement of the company town concept. Moreover, it wanted to insure a stable labor supply. The primary strategy seemed to focus upon producing physical amenities which would keep the miners in Grande Cache. Housing was a key component in the scheme. The assumption was that married men were more stable than single men. The provincial government apparently argued that the key to the good life was the provision of amenities. In an article entitled, "New Concepts are Built-in for New Town" (Alberta Government 1969), the government describes in considerable detail the elaborate plans to make Grande Cache a modern community.





Alberta's latest instant town will rapidly become a bustling, industrial community. A major underground coal mining operation, about 100 miles northwest of Hinton, necessitated the immediate development of a modern townsite. Under the New Towns Act, funds are being made available by the provincial government for the development of the New Town of Grande Cache.

It goes on to describe the facilities.

Stage One, which is scheduled to be in operation will include a hotel, shopping mall with shops and stores, a supermarket, and a department store, office space adjoining the mall and a service station. Stage Two, finished by next fall will include, in addition to the hotel and the shopping mall, additional shops in the mall, perhaps a bowling alley and possibly a theatre, provincial offices and a town hall with a fire hall attached. Stage Three will involve more shops and a second addition to the hotel.

Municipal affairs officials, when interviewed, proudly recounted the facilities which were available in Grande Cache. To their credit and the credit of other developers, an enormous amount of development occurred in a short time. Yet, behind the proud statements of development appeared to be a firm belief that new facilities







and services, properly designed and implemented, spelled instant happiness for those lucky enough to live there.

McIntyre-Porcupine, in a colorful brochure describing the town and its housing, wrote

Grande Cache, Alberta's newest instant town offers its residents big city amenities in a beautiful mountain setting (The cover picture showed houses against a snow-capped mountain range). The location of Grande Cache, built on a plateau surrounded by rugged mountains, makes it one of Canada's major new playground areas. It is not only a good place to live---it's a place where property values are sure to rise.

In describing the hospital, one reporter stated that the hospital, in addition to having all the features needed to make it self-supporting, would cover all basic and immediate medical and surgical needs of the community. To miners engaged in a dangerous profession, this was an important consideration. The article went on to state that the hospital administrators predicted that the hospital would be expanded to 54 beds from 31 and that services would be increased to accommodate six to eight doctors. Further it stated





For the comfort of the patients as well as efficiency in service, the modern hospital is air conditioned in the maternity and operating rooms sections. It will have a balanced air flow movement throughout. Although a modern nine-room nurses' residence is adjacent to the hospital it is the intent to employ as many local persons as possible.

In a similar fashion, the brochure described the school system in similarly glowing terms.

The Grande Cache Elementary-Junior-Senior High School was built of a size to comfortably accomodate all school age children resident in the town...The school, under the direction of \_\_\_\_\_ and 13 competent teachers, provides Alberta standard of education for all children, Grades 1 to 12.<sup>9</sup>

The formal position of the mine was expressed well in an article written by two mine spokesmen (Price and Hislop 1970).

But, most off, there will be problems of People (sic). For, above all other influencing factors, People will determine the growth and success of our great Coal industry. We must attract, train, and retain people to ensure the stability of a work force so essential to success...

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<sup>9</sup>In 1971 when the brochure was written, the school was overcrowded. Construction was behind demand. The last year of high school was taught by correspondence and there was a high teacher turnover.



There are many facets to the People problem. Today we are only going to consider one. However, we feel certain that you will concur with our belief that this one facet is an important one. Indeed, it is an all-pervading factor which influences the total Industry-Company-Labour relationship. It is, in brief, the creation of an acceptable social environment within which our employees can work and live with optimal results.

The authors then defined the phrase, "the creation of an acceptable social environment", by defining "acceptable" as being a term which changed over time "as rapidly as the technology which produced 200 ton trucks, self-advancing long walls and unit trains".

After successfully clouding any real social statement except to be as "changeable as technology", the authors stated that they would need between 600 and 650 men on the first five-year contract and 350 men for the surface mining contract.

Like most Canadian new industrial towns, the workers recruited were young and of mixed social and cultural backgrounds. Figure 3, a population pyramid, clearly reflects the youthfulness of the population as well as the preponderance of males. The comparative large number of females (in terms of an ideal new town profile) illustrates the McIntyre's preferred hiring policy of recruiting men with families rather than single workers. Many industrial



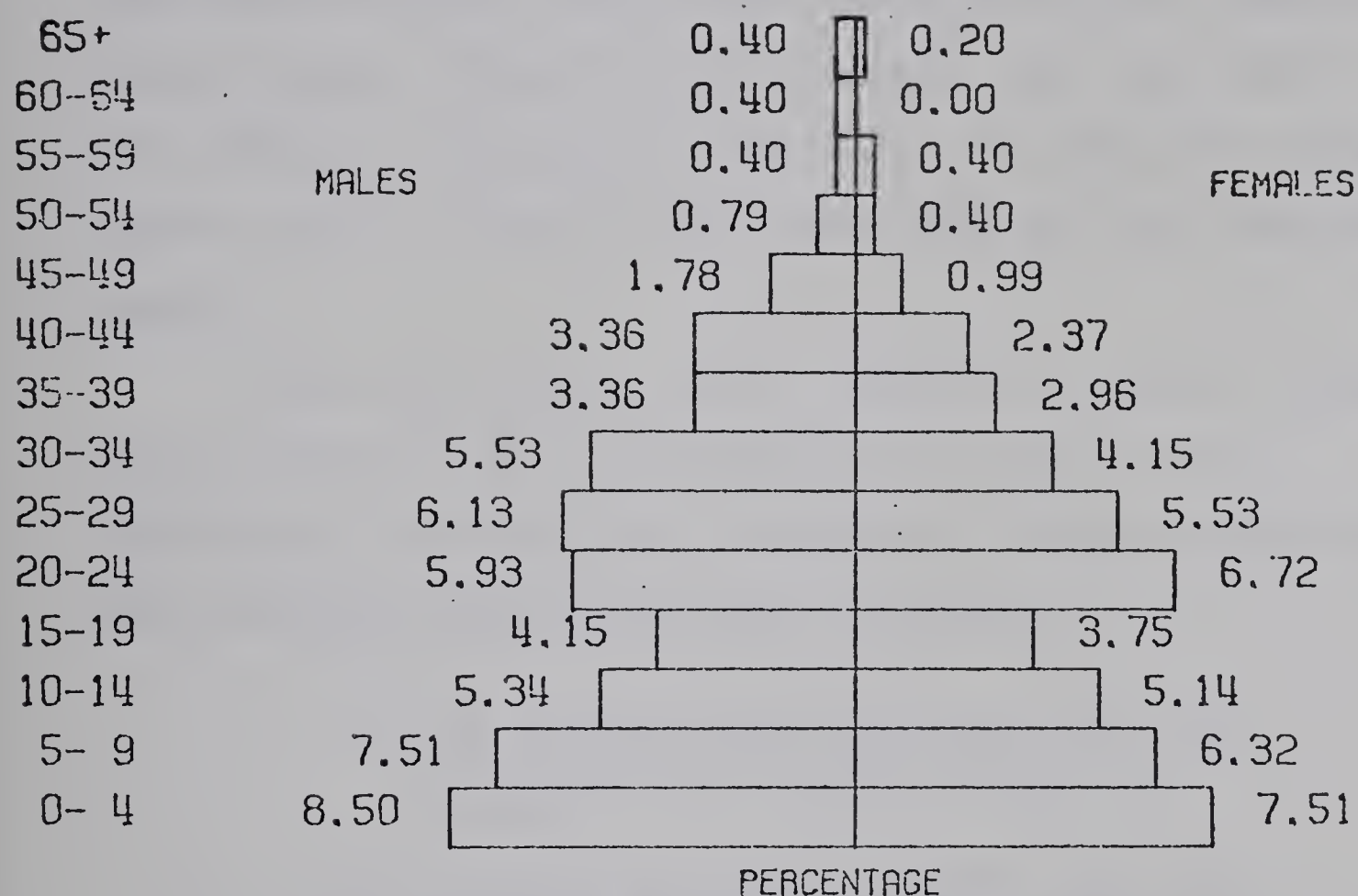


Figure 3

AGE-SEX DISTRIBUTION.

GRANDE CACHE, 1971





new towns without this policy or new towns during construction phases would show a sex ratio more unbalanced toward males. Tables 3 and 4 indicate the wide ethnic and religious diversity of the town. All data for these tables and for Figure 3 were taken from the 1971 Canadian census.

Price and Hislop (1970) indicated in their discussion the key factors in their potential success are the recruitment, training, and retention of stable work forces. The following difficulties were outlined.

- a) Our proposed mine site was over 100 miles from the nearest community, Hinton.
- b) Skilled coal mining labour was very scarce in western Canada. Therefore, we would have to recruit in other parts of Canada and off-shore. We also know that much of this labour would require training in the methods we intended to use.
- c) The anticipated long-term contract would contain certain restrictions on the amount of permitted cost escalation. Thus, labour costs, and hence, efficiency would be jealously guarded.





Table 3

Ethnic Composition by Sex  
Grande Cache, Alberta: 1971

Ethnic Group	Males		Females	
	#	%	#	%
Asiatic	50	1.8	40	1.4
British	845	30.6	810	29.4
French	110	4.0	65	2.4
German	140	5.1	125	4.5
Hungarian	25	.9	10	.4
Italian	15	.5	10	.4
Native	120	4.4	100	3.6
Polish	25	.9	10	.4
Scandinavian	50	1.8	25	.9
Ukranian	55	2.0	40	1.4
Other	60	2.2	30	1.1



Table 4

Religious Affiliation by Sex  
Grande Cache, Alberta: 1971

Religion	Males		Females	
	#	%	#	%
Baptist	15	.6	10	.4
Mennonite/ Hutterite	5	.2	10	.4
Jewish	0	.0	0	.0
Lutheran	90	3.3	80	2.9
Anglican	245	8.9	195	7.1
Greek Orthodox	15	.6	15	.6
Pentecostal	40	1.5	15	.6
Presbyterian	50	1.8	55	2.0
Roman Catholic	535	19.5	405	14.8
Ukranian Catholic	5	.2	15	.6
United Church	250	9.1	290	10.6
No Religion	125	4.6	75	2.7
Other	105	3.8	95	3.5



They stated that these problems were discussed at length in the company and with the provincial government. The solutions are quoted below.

An attractive domicile town must be developed if the Smoky River operation was to succeed.

This town should contain the full range of social amenities.

- Pleasant housing
- Attractive schools
- Inviting stores
- Well-planned recreational facilities.

The Provincial Government would develop the town service within the New Towns Act. Every effort would be made to make services compatible with the natural beauty of the chosen site, e.g., all services---power, telephone, etc. would be underground.

McIntyre would do everything possible to encourage home ownership amongst its employees.

The article then described the implementation and construction sequences of the town facilities, as well as listing its housing policy (see Appendix IV). Under results, the authors listed an impressive array of accomplishments only a few of which are listed here.





Parallelling the physical growth of the town has been the growth of a community identity. There is a local newspaper, The Grande Cache Mountaineer, numerous service clubs, church groups, and sports organizations.

The population of Grande Cache has gathered from all parts of Canada, the United Kingdom, Europe, Korea, the United States, Japan, and other countries, but amongst all it is possible to sense a feeling of belonging and a vitality in facing the many problems of a new community.

Secondly, from an industrial viewpoint, the primary objective of our approach to the creation of a good social environment was labour stability...

We can measure stability of work force in two ways: percentage turnover and percentage absenteeism. Both of these measures indicate that our housing and townsite policies have been successful. The Turnover rate for employees living in homes in Grande Cache is one-tenth of the rate of those employees living in camp. The absentee percentage of employees living in houses is approximately forty percent less than that of employees living in camp.

We feel safe in saying that results to date are an endorsement of our housing and community policies.



Despite the optimism of the Price-Hislop article, McIntyre continued to experience labor turnover problems. In their August, 1971 Manpower Report, they suggested that the company had experienced various manpower problems and in point form suggested the following as the key problems.

1. Recruiting sufficient qualified, certified coal miners to permit hiring of non-certified miners to train at the face, in accordance with the Coal Mine Regulations Act.
2. Delay in immigration approved for out-of-country recruits.
3. Recruiting at a sufficient rate per month to meet the build-up requirements and the replacement factor.
4. Training the qualified coal miners recruited to become proficient in the mining methods and equipment used at the Smoky.
5. Training the local Albertans to become qualified coal miners at the number required, in the limited time available.
6. Overcoming the problems experienced by the miners in relocation from one part of the world to another. A new community with many different cultures and amenities.



7. The recruitment and training of qualified, competent supervisors. This problem is two-fold:
  - a. recruiting staff familiar with the Rocky Mountain conditions and methods of mining.
  - b. meeting the requirements of the Alberta Coal Mines Act.

Each of these conditions, with their solutions, are further elaborated. Item 6, "Overcoming the problems experienced by miners in the relocation from one part of the world to another..." had the following solutions suggested.

#### VI. Readjustment to a New Community

The Company has promoted and encouraged various activities to reduce the settling-in period.

October will bring the official opening of the Recreation Centre. This complex houses a 25-meter, heated swimming pool; hockey arena with artificial ice; and five sheets of curling ice.

The elementary and high schools provide all educational and gymnasium facilities required.

Various service and reception clubs provide the families with the entertainment and social development of their choice.

The Town of Grande Cache has hired a full-time Community Services Director and a Social Development Officer to assist in the stabilization of the Grande Cache community.





To assist new employees in settling in Grande Cache as quickly as possible, the Company provided one hundred trailers as an interim accomodation measure. thus permitting his family to join him in Grande Cache much earlier than if he waited for a home.

Wherever possible, the Company will recruit the family as a unit, thus encouraging the family to adapt to the new community of Grande Cache, creating greater stability for the Company.

In analyzing the turnover, the Company found that 2.3 per cent of the terminations were employees living in homes in Grande Cache with their families. The majority of terminations came from employees living in camp and single employees.

The report went on to discuss McIntyre's plans to close the single men's camp, building a new bachelor's quarters in town an an additional 100 houses for married employees. The rationale used was that everyone should be exposed to the amenities available in town.

Despite these measures and the optimistic reports from McIntyre which claimed to have overcome the problems of turnover, the Crump Commission's report stated that





turnovers averaged 7.7 per cent per month with a rate of over 90 per cent per year.<sup>10</sup>

In a report commissioned by the Community Services Director in Grande Cache, a psychologist (Hundleby 1971) noted the following conditions.

Many people felt that Grande Cache may be unique in having more than its fair share of problems...

Particular importance must be placed upon the exceptional circumstances entailed in moving to Grande Cache. For most people moving has meant leaving behind all close friends and relatives... the very persons an individual would rely on first when faced with personal problems. As a result there are many, many people in Grande Cache who have no one they can trust in times of stress.

Specific problems mentioned by Hundleby were

Financial, drinking, delinquency, and theft, isolation-loneliness, suicide, mental breakdown, teenagers, marital, family breakdown, lack of free entertainment, lack of recreational facilities.

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<sup>10</sup>The Crump Commission was held in 1973 to study the problem associated with a large labor layoff in 1973.



Hundleby went on to describe a pervasive system which he felt was characteristic of the town.

It might seem strange that in a town such as Grande Cache there should be so much unhappiness. Many people point to the temporary housing situation as a source of complaint, yet persons who have moved into new, spacious homes are still unhappy. Recreation facilities have been built, new schools constructed and housing subsidies paid, yet there is still unhappiness.

...The majority of citizens of Grande Cache have never become involved in community activities. Indeed, one wonders if the proliferation of even more facilities will accomplish this end.

Two explanations which came to mind as I interviewed citizens of the community were as follows:

Many people who have moved to Grande Cache have led extremely unhappy lives in the past. Cases of extreme poverty and overwhelming debt are well-documented. People have moved, hoping to start a new life and leave all their troubles behind. In many cases this just has not worked. The problems that these people brought with them are not the result of, or even related to, the conditions in Grande Cache. Further, the solutions for these people can only come at the personal level.



With the exception of a handful of people, everyone in Grande Cache today has had to move there. Many have had difficulty coping with a fantastic change in environment, culture, living conditions and apparent prosperity. For many of these people, there is reason to believe that they can automatically cope with these changes. Indeed, there is nothing in their background which might have prepared them for the way they must live in Grande Cache. Thus, not sure of themselves, these people have retreated into their homes in fear of embarrassment. Many of these people would become involved if they were confident of being accepted by the rest of the community. Again, the only way in which they can become involved in a way which will help them learn new coping skills is at a personal level.

Recognition that some of the first recruits were being overwhelmed by personal problems which extended into the past was made by both the mine and provincial government agencies. Their solution was to train and hire local Albertans or, at best, western Canadians.<sup>11</sup> In May of 1971,

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<sup>11</sup> In their Manpower Report of August 31, 1971, McIntyre reported: "Knowing the recruiting areas where the coal miners are most suitable, the Company then planned their recruitment to coincide with the miners' training program." Mr. Tubb, of the Division of Vocational Education, in a report entitled, "Report on the McIntyre Mine Training Programs", reported, "It is a matter for serious consideration whether anything is achieved by exiling the people and relocating their problems."





a program was established at Grande Cache to learn underground mining. Yet, according to the McIntyre Manpower Report, the highest turnover in terms of employees' place or origin was from Alberta and British Columbia. Moreover, in spite of efforts to recruit locally as mentioned in the Crump Report, the turnover for 1971 was over 90 per cent.

### Summary

Grande Cache was developed as one link in the overall industrialization of the north. Both industry and government sought to create a stable community which would ensure good coal production by providing attractive physical amenities for the miners. The New Town was considered by both to be the epitome of good planning. The townsite was located on a hilltop away from the industrial plant. Provision for a local administration independent of the company were ensured by the Alberta New Towns Act.

To meet the immediate production demands, miners were recruited from widely divergent backgrounds and thrust together, with little prior preparation, into a strange, unnatural social and cultural environment. Although both government and mine officials were aware of numerous "social problems" in the town, as well as high labor turnover, absenteeism and conflict at the mine, they were unable to curb them. They diagnosed the problem as resulting either



from character faults of the miners or as a need for more services and better physical conditions.

The government seemed to have ignored completely both the rights and needs of the Metis who had been occupying the area prior to the construction of the town. Apparently little concern was paid to the land rights of the Metis who had been formerly dispossessed of land in the Jasper Park region at the turn of the century, having been told to settle to the north at their own disposition, nor to the fact that sudden contact with an overwhelming number of Eurocanadians might do irreparable harm to their culture. They apparently were expected either to fade away or to assimilate and become coal miners.



## CHAPTER V

### SOURCES OF STRESS AND PATTERNS OF NATIVE ADAPTATION

With the establishment of the New Town of Grande Cache, the social, cultural, and bio-physical environments of the native community were dramatically changed. The changes inevitably affected the basic subsistence patterns of the Grande Cache Metis. Their struggle to provide a livelihood under the new conditions provides insight into the process of adaptation to severe stress.

This chapter will first describe the effects of the altered social, cultural, and bio-physical environments upon the Grande Cache Metis. It will explain their resulting behavior in terms of perceptions of the changes which occurred, the stress which these changes generated, and the adaptative strategies which resulted.



## Perceptions of Change

### The Bio-Physical Environment

The man-land relationship in Grande Cache before the coming of the town was similar to those of many of the isolated northern settlements across northern Alberta and, for that matter, Canada. The people depended directly upon the products of the land for their survival. Although they obtained commercial products from time to time, they had to produce furs to negotiate the transfer of goods. Meat was the primary staple of the diet and, as such, was considered representative of the good life. The commercial food products, although enjoyed, did not last long and were considered luxuries.

Although the people profess to be Catholic and many vigorously deny any knowledge of traditional religious practices, near secluded hunting camps are sometimes found the evidences of propitiation to animistic spirits. Witigos<sup>1</sup> are dreaded and a host of other forest spirits acknowledged, including the annual

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<sup>1</sup>Witigos are the Cree version of Algonquian Wendigo, a cannibalistic spirit, believed to occasionally take possession of persons (See Vandersteene 1969 and Hay 1971).





spring visit of the "Dog Rib Indians".<sup>2</sup> The point is that a bond, greater than merely that of producer to product, existed between the people of Grande Cache and their mountain environment.

In addition to economic and spiritual ties to land, the people experienced aesthetic feelings for their environment. Several times while travelling with various native persons, they stopped to point out a particular beautiful feature of the landscape. In spring, one of the older men would regularly travel about the area with his horse to see the countryside. Some of his interest pertained to the changes taking place, the possibilities for spring, trapping, the location, and abundance of game. These interests seemed to be aligned intricably with a pleasure and involvement with the land. He would frequently, despite advancing years, climb to a high hill to sit for hours contemplating the valley. Young men, in conversation about the changes wrought by the town,

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<sup>2</sup> Many of the older people believe that Dog Rib spirits visit the settlements each spring. Although considered harmless, they are capable of mischief and often hide articles of daily use or make tramping noises on cabin roofs. Only women can see them. When pursued, they take an animal form, for example, the coyote.



expressed bewilderment over the kind of craziness that could possibly prompt wanton destruction of their country. Sometimes these discussions would bring the speaker close to tears.

It seemed that the traditional lifestyle symbolized both freedom and hardship. Native workers often fantasized about the good life, where man could find "real meat" (wild game) to feed his family, where it was quiet and there was freedom to do whatever he wanted without white man telling him what he must do. Other men talked about a desire to take a horse up into the high country and find a good camp where a man could roast ribs (moose, deer) and "live right."

The pall of winter hardship was also very real to them. Women often commented that it was good to have a hospital close to the settlements. It was also very good, they felt, to be able to have a store with so many good things nearby.

The first major industrial intrusion into the land was the Alberta Resources Railway. The route brought the line right through the middle of one family's horse meadow. The high terraces which surrounded the meadow were attacked by heavy equipment at one end to provide gravel for the track bed. Huge pits were excavated as well, destroying a



considerable amount of the family's pasture area. The construction of an oil road through one end of the meadow and above the plateau towards Grande Prairie at an earlier time was considered inconsequential compared to the impact of the railroad with its construction waste and subsequent noise. Several years later, as a result of the quarrying, the river flooded the flats, nearly trapping the family and spreading gravel and debris over the rest of their land.

The mine was constructed in an area which was used as an important wintering area for horses. Even after the mine was constructed, some of the horses continued to graze on the vertical slopes above it. Coal dust from the mine drifted several miles down the valley to blanket the trees, meadows, and other vegetation with a black coating. Natives living in the area, as well as those travelling through, remarked with disgust and concern about the blanket of dust. For the first couple of years after the mine was established coal effluent was released under the ice into the Smoky River. The Metis downstream found their drinking water unfit.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Wells were later drilled to provide potable drinking water.





Traditional routes of access and traditional camps were interdicted. One family, living several miles below the mine, found it difficult to travel to their major guiding areas because it meant herding 'green' pack and saddle horses through the mine area. The enormous machines and noisy equipment terrified the horses. Another route to a major trapping area was blocked with the advent of strip mining in the area. Familiar campsites which were used over the years were erased when they stood in the way of construction. The new Grande Cache hotel sits squarely on the intersection of two major traplines. The wooded knoll where the town was placed was a favorite fall elk hunting site for the Metis living around Victor Lake to the south of the new town.

When the mine was built along the Smoky River, a major access road was built to connect the town with the mine. This road ran squarely through the middle of one man's horse meadow. Exploratory mine shafts were sunk into the hillside several hundred yards away. Later, when the town was built, a cabin was bulldozed off the meadow and the topsoil taken for landscaping in town. A gasline was put through in front of his house, necessitating a large swath of trees being cut from one end of his land to the



other. Several gravel pits were also dug. These were all done without permission.

The Metis living below the town, on the lakes, found an airfield built in one of their traditional hay meadows and were aware of plans to turn their remaining acres into a golf course. They were annoyed with the townfolk who wanted to picnic on their land. These picnics often involved all night parties after which large amounts of garbage were left strewn about. Fires were often left burning as well. Moreover, picnickers in pickup trucks and on motorcycles roared across the meadows tearing up the sod and generally causing a disturbance. There were also reports of indiscriminate shooting by Eurocanadians around settlements.

In addition to the immediate impact around dwelling units, the Metis seemed to feel the impact of destruction in the surrounding area deeply. The destruction of the land in surrounding valleys, although possessing no permanent dwellings, was viewed as directly affecting them. Their regular land use covered vast tracts of the mountains, which, although not occupied continuously, had been occupied in the past on a part-time basis and were part of the seasonal cycle.



Horses and meadows went together. The horses were the basis of the traditional transportation system. They were required for travel from place to place, the transport of goods, as well as being a key part of the hunting patterns. Meadows were important to the winter maintenance of both the horse herds and some game animals. The threat to traditional grazing areas ultimately threatened a key link in the traditional subsistence patterns. Moreover, horses were killed on a regular basis when the railroad and the town were built. Horses were killed by the trains, by vehicles on the roads, and indiscriminately by Eurocanadian marksmen. These losses were a severe blow to the Metis who not only needed the horses but valued them for their prestige purposes.

The industrialization of the area was perceived by many of the natives as a direct threat. Some said that the old ways were dead. The Eurocanadians had killed the land. Others quietly registered their shock over various incidents as they developed, hiding their primary feelings from most Eurocanadians. It was only during drinking bouts or private discussions that they registered their profound dismay, bewilderment and anger over what had befallen their land.





Along with their reactions to the industrialization of the area were their fears of being resettled by the government as they had been from Jasper. With the help of a Metis field worker from the Human Resources Development Authority (HRDA) and the Community Services Director (CSD) of the New Town, a lawyer was hired and the Metis of Grande Cache intensified their long time battle for land rights.<sup>4</sup> Thus, fear of being displaced and the profound changes brought to their mountain environment were sources of both anxiety and cognitive disorganization.

### The Social Environment

#### Work Versus Making a Living

The native people of Grande Cache make an important distinction between "work" and "making a living". The latter refers to the traditional occupations involved in hunting and trapping; the former is limited to wage labor, usually of short duration. Before the town was constructed, "work" was considered a stopgap kind of activity to be engaged in when one wanted a good excuse to leave the area for awhile or when money was needed during

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<sup>4</sup>Discussion of land rights and land tenure appears in Chapter VI.





summer or fall. Contact with Eurocanadians was limited and required comparatively little adaptive change on the part of the native person. When the town was created priorities seemed to shift. Opportunities for wage labor were readily available as well as an overwhelming array of new consumer goods. Moreover, many native people believed that the land had permanently changed, thus making it not conducive to full-time traditional subsistence activities.

In the past the native people took advantage of whatever opportunities availed themselves for wage labor. Given their isolated domain, these work opportunities occurred usually during summer, when the people were near Hinton, or during the fall, when outfitters needed guides. Sometimes they worked for the Forestry Department as well. Most of their jobs were of short duration and they seldom extended more than several months.

The men of the area were known for their industriousness and their ability to get along with employers and to provide good work. When construction began on the town, native people flocked to the work sites. There were more than enough jobs for all and the wages were quite high. Employers who had hired natives for similar jobs in other places often remarked that "these Indians are different",



meaning, of course, that the native people more than met their expectations as workers.

Although forestry officials preferred to hire natives for firefighting, they found they could not compete with the wages paid by construction companies.

### Permanent Employment

In addition to the many possibilities for obtaining casual work, there were numerous opportunities for securing permanent work. The New Town of Grande Cache hired laborers to work as maintenance men. There were positions available for carpenters, service station attendants, janitors, waitresses and motel maids, just to name a few. Permanent employment became an important ideal for many native people, primarily through the efforts of a Eurocanadian, the Community Services Director (CSD). Worried that the natives could not compete with the more aggressive Eurocanadians, he actively helped native people find work and encouraged them to take on permanent positions. In general discussions with native people, he continually reminded them of the value of regular employment.

Although a wide variety of permanent positions were available, the only ones which native people tried were



those set up for them by the CSD. The CSD was called upon constantly to help employers and native workers maintain equilibrium. He acted, in essence, as a cultural broker<sup>5</sup> for both sides, mediating disputes and circumventing cultural barriers.

Reasons for leaving permanent positions often focussed around problems in interpersonal relations. The hospital maintenance man worked at his position for about a year before he left to go logging and guiding. His employer felt that he may have had personal difficulties with his immediate supervisor. All of the native people who formerly worked for the town as maintenance men---some of them for several years---have left and are presently working for the logging company or in other employment. At one point there were hard feelings about the white employees getting more money than the natives, but when the CSD intervened the situation was reconciled. Many of these employees, however, complained about their immediate supervisor, and

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<sup>5</sup>The definition of "cultural broker" used here is as follows: "The concept of broker, on the other hand, essentially has to do with 'processing' of information (whether or not with the intent of mediation), and I reserve the use of broker to one who, while purveying values that are his own, is also purposively making changes of emphasis and/or content" (Paine 1970:21).







there was some suggestion that they left because of their poor relationship with him.

Other employees seemed to have similar experiences. Two native persons worked for over a year as custodians in the provincial building. The CSD intervened in several instances to help an employee explain to his supervisor why he had missed work. Again, there were hard feelings reported between employer and employee.

A maintenance man and carpenter worked for over a year for a local motel. The owner took a somewhat paternalistic interest in the man and was quite proud of "everything he thought he had taught him". Periodically, the native would go "on a drunk", and the employer would call the CSD to complain about the man's ungratefulness. The CSD usually intervened and the employee resumed his work. Eventually, however, he, too, returned to logging.

Only one native person in any of the permanent positions was reported totally unsatisfactory as a worker. She was a motel maid with a penchant for watching TV soap operas on the motel sets rather than cleaning. In most cases, the employees performed their jobs reasonably, in a satisfactory manner. In some cases, their work was considered exemplary.



There is one example of permanent employment which is currently still in existence. In 1972 a native person who had recently bought a new car, found himself beleaguered by requests for rides. With the encouragement of the CSD, he started a taxi business. Initially a sideline, the business so flourished that, because it interfered with his regular job, he decided to turn it over to his brother. While the founder has retained ownership of the business, all proceeds now go to his brother, who acts as driver and is responsible for the purchase of licenses, insurance, and car maintenance. The driver supplements his income by driving a school bus and having his wife work in the logging camp.

The first taxi was replaced in 1974 after it had totalled 78,000 miles; the new taxi already had driven 27,000 miles six months later. In addition to making short trips around town, the driver books fares to the outlying native settlements and occasionally to Hinton, which may involve several hundred miles a day. The owner estimated that the taxi business just about "breaks even", hence, the need for extra employment for both driver and spouse. The accuracy of this estimate was difficult to judge, since financial records are not kept and the money is spent as it comes in. This method of accounting or



nonaccounting, in Eurocanadian terms, has created considerable problems for the owner. He would like to sell the business to his brother, but the brother cannot get financial backing without evidence of Eurocanadian business procedures. Moreover, the brother recently discovered that he is liable to payment of taxes on the business. This prospect is a source of considerable anxiety for him because he cannot read or write and feels that Eurocanadian money management procedures are beyond his abilities.

The taxi operator had developed some ingenious ways of dealing with customers. Unlike the other native businessmen, this person worked comfortably with a wide range of people with whom he had to deal. His sense of humor and generally affable disposition made him a popular and well-known figure among non-natives in the community. One of his business policies was not to accept personal cheques and, as a general rule, he required prepayments of any fare. When approached for personal loans, he had another policy of lending money only for food and allowing people to charge rides only in case of sickness. He said he never allowed people who had been drinking to charge rides because they failed to remember their promises afterwards. In the first year of operation, there were





several instances of customers who attempted to cheat him. For example, four Eurocanadians hired him to drive them to a party, refused to pay, and, in fact, threatened him if he did not "keep his mouth shut". He knocked all of them out, laid them in a neat row by the side of the road, and resold their beer to cover the trip. Likewise, when a group of natives announced, en route to Suza Creek, that they "would not pay him", he pulled over, deposited them on the road, and left them to find their way home on foot.

Financially, the taxi business was handled in a traditional way. Money was spent when it was received. It was basically a family enterprise, although one member of the family did most of the work. The driver loaned the other brother money for such immediate needs as food and clothing from the business without expectation of immediate repayment, although it was understood that, should the driver get into a similar position, the owner would reciprocate. Such business policies as there are existed as informal agreements between the brothers. Thus, it was basically a subsistence business without potential for growth or reinvestment.

This example is an illustration of an attempt to fit new conditions to old adaptative patterns. Such strategies





reduce the stress level, providing the new conditions can successfully be fitted into traditional molds by reasserting the value or appropriateness of one's own cognitive system. If the changes confronted are relatively moderate and the old patterns reasonably congruent, the strategy is workable. But if the changes to be confronted are pervasive and not amenable to traditional categories, this sort of strategy may increase rather than reduce stress. For example, when the taxi driver attempted to buy out his brother's interest in the business he was unable to secure a loan because he did not have the requisite records of cash flow. Moreover, he had difficulty meeting maintenance and licensing costs on time because he refused to save money against such costs. Thus, the future of a business he valued was continually threatened due to his reluctance to adopt more appropriate procedures.

### Traditional Employment

While "work" was a dominant theme for many of the native people, some tried, at various times, to return to the more traditional subsistence activities of "making a living". Guiding and trapping were the focus of such efforts.



From 1969 to 1973, the future of such traditional employment as guiding and outfitting was of considerable concern to both native persons and government development specialists, who feared that it would be or was about to be eliminated by the industrial and urban development. The new network of roads, together with the greatly increased numbers of hunters and outside (non-native) outfitters, were seen as jeopardizing the guiding industry.

Only three or four natives in the area have actually taken out hunting parties; for the most part they have acted as guides for white outfitters. Because of their inability to write and, in some cases, speak English, the natives depended upon non-native patrons to read their letters from clients and to handle correspondence. In some cases, they simply waited until a group of hunters showed up. In one instance, an American hunter encouraged a guide with whom he had formed a patron-client relationship to go into business for himself, supplying hunters and some equipment. This relationship dissolved in 1972 when the outfitter experienced staff problems and fielded a poorly organized trip.

A key part of the industry is linked to horses. As industrialization expanded rapidly, the old free grazing



patterns became less and less appropriate. Because horses were killed on railroad tracks, on roads, and by careless non-native shooters, the base of the industry was threatened. During 1972-73, government development workers and the Native Area Development Committee (NADC)<sup>6</sup> actively attempted to procure funds for adequate agricultural-ranching development as a means of rebuilding the horse population and to ensure that horses were available when needed for outfitting (See Chapter VII).

Business loans for men wishing to buy horses and equipment to go into the guiding business were, and still are, virtually non-existent. The only loan granted was furnished by a local bank with provision that, if the person could not keep his payments up, the funds would be backed by the Native Employment Opportunity Committee (NEOC).<sup>7</sup> (The banker has since learned that such transactions are illegal) At the time the loan was given the native person was allocated an accountant to help him run the new

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<sup>6</sup>The Native Area Development Committee will be discussed in further detail in Chapter VII. Suffice it to say that they were a local native group organized originally to resolve the land tenure question and which, subsequently, became involved in a variety of community activities.

<sup>7</sup>Further discussion of the Native Employment Opportunity Committee occurs later in this chapter.







business. No real controls were set up, however, to ensure that the money was responsibly spent. As a result, much of the money was improperly spent entertaining friends and the native person is faced with overwhelming debt. Although intentions were good, the project has served to demoralize the native businessman and to create an attitude among bankers which is not favorable to native borrowing.

In 1970, for the purposes of evaluating native guiding, three HRDA representatives engaged a local guide to outfit them for a short fishing trip. Later, the government representatives agreed that, whereas the guide's ability to locate game (in this case, fish), as well as his skill in handling the horses was unquestionable, he lacked confidence in dealing with whites, had organized the trip poorly, and had used shoddy equipment. Hunters taken out by other Grande Cache guides have reported similar impressions (Appendix II).

Although some oldtimers and some of the younger men consider themselves outfitters, none have met the legal requirements as outlined in the Fish and Wildlife Act No. 52 and 53 which states that:



No. 52

No person shall be issued an outfitter's license unless:

- (a) he is a resident;
- (b) he has sufficient equipment to keep four men in the field for fourteen days;
- (c) he has \$100,000 Public Liability and Property Damage insurance;
- (d) he is the holder of a Fidelity Bond.

Sheep Guiding and Special Outfitting Division

No. 53

- (1) No person is eligible to provide outfitting services to a non-resident alien duly licensed to hunt trophy sheep unless:
  - (a) he holds a valid outfitter's license;
  - (b) he has been shown as an outfitter under contract on a successful application for Non-Resident Alien Trophy Sheep License during the calendar year 1972 or 1973;
  - (c) he holds a valid Class "A" Guide License.
- (2) For the purpose of this section, an outfitter under contract refers to the name of the outfitter shown on the Non-Resident Alien Sheep Application form.
- (3) No person is eligible to provide outfitting services for a non-resident alien duly licensed to hunt Trophy Sheep who is directly or indirectly involved in a guiding or outfitting business outside the Province of Alberta.



The current fee for outfitters is \$500.00. Records reveal that the only person in the Grande Cache area to have formally applied for an outfitter's license has been a non-native.

According to a recent consultant's report (Richmond 1974) prepared for the NADC, outfitting for hunts, trail rides, and wilderness excursions offers a potentially lucrative industry if the native people can learn to perform the varied responsibilities of the outfitter. These responsibilities include finding clients and arranging dates, accomodation, food, equipment. Furthermore, the outfitter must be able to effectively manage relationships between clients and staff.

Guiding, on the other hand, requires only an ability to find game, to get along marginally with the clients, and to do one's share of the campwork. To qualify as a Class "A" guide, a person must pass a short examination and pay a \$50.00 license fee. Daily fees for camp staff, including guides, are listed below (rates during 1973 were reported to be \$5.00 less):

Guides	\$25.00
Wranglers	\$25.00
Cooks	\$25.00





Listed in Table 5 are the number of registered guides and outfitters' forms issued to natives between 1967 and 1974. It is apparent that, since the arrival of the New Town, guiding has declined, while outfitting has never officially existed.

Table 5  
Registered Guides and Outfitters  
in the Grande Cache Area  
1967 - 1974

Year	Number of Guides	Number of Outfitters
1967-1969	39	0
1970	23	0
1971	19	0
1972	14	0
1973	12	0
1974	14	0

### Trapping

In the traditional economic setting, trapping was the important winter activity and mainstay. During the dispute with the government over land tenure, there was





considerable agitation over financial restitution for damaged traplines due to the industrialization in the area. Such recompense was never made.

Estimates of the incomes gained from furs in the area are difficult to assess because few of the buyers have kept long-term records. Though fur prices were relatively low during the 1960s and have only recently risen, to judge from the accounts of both native trappers and fur buyers in Entrance, the native people lived comparatively well from trapping. The inaccessibility of the area for resupplying in the winter was a key problem.

Although there are no records to substantiate the local decline in trapping during 1960-1973, reports from native trappers indicate that, for most people, trapping had become a fill-in type of activity.<sup>8</sup> The records which are available list only the furs sent out from Grande Cache by two local buyers and are not representative of the total. Trapping took place usually between fall and Christmas.

### Handicrafts

Today many young women work in logging camps and few are available to tan hides or make them into handicrafts. Such handicrafts as are made are produced by old women;

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<sup>8</sup> Despite the fact that trapping had declined as a source of revenue native people continued to live to a large extent off the land. The food and other subsistence products were supplemented with wages from laboring jobs or guiding.



those few young women who are tanning hides seem to prefer to sell them to a roving fur buyer.

### Efforts to Stimulate Native Employment

In 1969 construction of the New Town of Grande Cache began. It was a new and disturbing milieu for the native hunters and trappers of the area. People from both the town and the provincial government suddenly became involved with the native people on a variety of fronts. Since it was assumed by everyone that the natives' old way of life was doomed, considerable effort was expended searching for ways to ensure native people employment. This section presents a brief resume of the various employment schemes initiated.

A central figure among those who endeavored to provide employment for natives was the Community Services Director (CSD) for the New Town of Grande Cache. Fearing that the native people could not compete for suitable employment with Eurocanadians, the CSD formed the Native Employment Opportunities Committee (NEOC). The committee was made up of town merchants, the CSD, and several native people. The committee was funded by the Human Resources Development Authority (HRDA). The NEOC was funded to provide support to the native employees. A placement service with



both native and non-native clients was organized. Funds were used to create short-term jobs. The formal goals of the committee were stated thus:

- (1) promote labour placement or training leading to employment;
- (2) provide ongoing support for employees, toward development of native and non-native economic social independence.  
(Monsma 1972:1)

The labor placement service was used regularly by both natives and employers. The funds were also used to supplement vocational training allowances provided by the provincial government, for leadership training, and for small loans to native workers. "Make work" projects were funded periodically to keep employment rosters up. The CSD was the primary distributor of the NEOC's services. As a result of these activities, as well as his other efforts to help native people, the services of the NEOC were interpreted as personal favors conveyed by their patron, the CSD.

### The Cultural Environment

In pre-town times the natives of Grande Cache had comparatively little contact with Eurocanadian society, thus allowing them little opportunity to incorporate into







their cognitive structure much of the Eurocanadian cultural system. The use of patrons and brokers to negotiate their transactions with Eurocanadian society, although "functional" in that setting, did little to prepare them for the cognitive changes necessary for successful relations with Eurocanadians.

In the pre-town context, the adult members of the community certainly possessed and manipulated cultural and social systems which allowed them to proficiently survive in their milieu. In the new town context, however, they rapidly discovered that their cultural knowledge was not appropriate to the new setting.<sup>9</sup> In Goodenough's (1967:167) terms, they did not know "whatever it was one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members". Their cultural system was considerably different than the Eurocanadian. Moreover, most of them lacked the basic language skills which are a first step in reconnoitering a new cultural and social environment. This discongruity which they were very much aware of was an important source of stressors, combined with the stressors from the social and bio-physical environments producing severe culture shock, which led to attempts to reduce their stress.

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<sup>9</sup> Since they were Metis they possessed little political clout in terms of reversing the high level political decisions which had resulted in the construction of the town. Since they believed their traditional life dead as a result of the industrialization they were squarely confronted with the proposition of adaption to their current situation. Their adaptation was severely limited due to the reluctance of the provincial government to assist them in providing options other than immediate assimilation.



During the first year of the town's growth, provincial authorities, as well as town officials, pointed proudly to the full employment rosters in the native community and the lack of welfare clients.<sup>10</sup> The pleas from their own field staff and from the native leaders that problems were looming on the horizon largely went unheeded. By 1974, the image of the native worker had changed. Those who had paternally pronounced sometime earlier "that these Indians are different", found themselves hesitantly saying that "these Indians are going to hell...we've ruined them". Some who felt less guilty simply said, "Those damn Indians are drunks, just like all the rest of them...never there when you need them." These comments are usually accompanied by self-righteous testimonials about how they had gone out of their way to do the Metis some service and the abuse they got in return.

The fact is that the work behavior of the Metis had undergone some radical changes in the short span of time since the town was built. These changes seem to reflect a series of adaptations made to reduce their stress. The following discussion describes the dilemma of wage labor from both the employer's and the native person's point of view.

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<sup>10</sup>They failed to note however that welfare had never been a major factor in the area. The lack of welfare did not indicate, as they would like to believe, an example of successful adaptation.



### Employer's Dilemma

Most employers who had hired native people from Grande Cache reported that they had been excellent workers, requiring little supervision and performing their tasks well. Moreover, they performed in many of the bush jobs for which they are hired better than a non-native person. However, all employers were concerned about a number of employee problems.

Communication with native workers was a concern of most employers who dealt with the problem in various ways. "Acting out" tasks rather than talking about them was a favorite ploy of some bosses. Other tries to identify the native person who spoke the best English and used him as interpreter for the others. A few employers simply talked louder or reduced their words to baby talk, accompanying the spectacle with rapid arm gestures.

The personnel manager at the mine suggested that an official spokesman for each native crew be nominated in order to provide a mechanism whereby workers could communicate problems to management, and conversely management could transmit messages to the crews.

When asked for criticism regarding native employees, employers agreed that unreliability was the greatest fault.





They reported that employees would frequently leave either for a period of time or permanently without ever informing them. Sometimes, the only way the employer ever learned whether or not the absence was permanent, was through discovering that the employee had gone to work for someone else. Needless to say, this sort of behavior was very frustrating if the employer was trying to meet contract quotas and was unable to depend on a regular crew. Such was often the case with a logging company. The mine, on the other hand, due to the nature of its jobs which were not subject to a rigid time schedule, was better equipped to cope, should crews become short-handed.

Most employers expressed a "one-two-three strikes, you're out" philosophy. That is, they warned employees about absences on the first offense, usually spending time trying to find out the reasons for the absence. Then, on the second absence, the discussion became more terse and the possibility of firing was brought up. Several employers reported that they cautioned their employees if they suspected that the absence was due to drinking. In such cases, reprimands seemed to stimulate even more intense drinking, which led to dismissal and quitting. The most vociferous reprimands seemed to be made by a logging camp





operator. Eighty per cent (80%) of his employees were natives, and, therefore, loss of working time was a primary concern to him. However, given the native values on outward displays of anger and aggression, the behavior of the logging operator was considered highly disturbing by the native workers, to say the least.

Few employers can remember a native person ever expressing a work grievance while on the job, although several reported that they had been accosted at the tavern by former or present employees, drunk and irate about a job matter. Again, the traditional reticence to cause conflict seemed to prevent the native employee from overtly discussing job concerns with his boss, unless, of course, he was under the influence of alcohol.

Employers who used skilled labor, such as equipment operators, seemed to be less tolerant of the native worker's unreliability. They insisted that, since they had many workers to choose from, they could afford to fire anyone who was not trustworthy.

Many employers related instances in which they regularly extended favors for their employees, such as providing transportation to town, making a small loan, adapting some work schedule to allow for native patterns,



and negotiating with government officials on the native's behalf. These services seemed to fall into the "patron" category of relationships, though, in some cases, they may have, in fact, arisen out of concern for the employee's welfare. However, generally speaking, such favors increased in proportion to the employer's dependency on the native person's services. For example, the logging camp operator desperately needed native laborers; he also extended more "patron" services than anyone else. A good part of his frustration may have stemmed from the apparent lack of appreciation he felt he received in return for his gestures.

Most employers expressed the opinion that unreliability among native laborers was rapidly increasing. They felt that the installation of the tavern in town several years ago accounted primarily for the increase in job absenteeism. If the tavern were not too close, it was assumed that the problem would have been solved. The employers' second most frequent complaint concerned failure to notify an employer of impending absenteeism. In fact, several employers said that they would have preferred to employ non-natives, even though the native persons were better workers, simply to get around the problem of absenteeism.



Studies of the effects of wage labor on Cree Indians in Quebec revealed that employers discriminated against Indian loggers in preference to French Canadian loggers. Indians were given the least productive cutting areas and were considered merely a source of cheap labor (La Rusic 1970:20). There seems to be little evidence of such racial discrimination on the part of the employers of Grande Cache except perhaps for alleged incidents of different pay scales for Indians and whites at the logging camp (which have not been verified). Interview questions designed to examine possible bias against Indians failed to elicit any such prejudices, except for those expressed by a transient foreman from the southern United States. For the most part, townspeople, until recently, ascribed their own valued traits to natives. As mentioned earlier, that attitude has changed as the native behavior patterns correlate more and more with their stereotypes of Indians, that is, drunken and lazy Indians.

The issue of native people being used as a source of cheap labor is not necessarily related to racial prejudice, although certainly a connection may exist. Native people do provide a cheap source of unskilled labor, the demand for which has gradually been diminishing. The logging camp





operator, for example, claims he would not be able to operate if he were unable to obtain Indians to work at the present low wages. The mine and other employers can pay competitive wages; consequently, they are less dependent on native employees.

### The Native Person's Dilemma

Full-time "work" has generated a wealth of problems for the native community. Because many believed that the industrialization of the area had destroyed their traditional means of making a living and because they desired the abundant consumer goods made available to them through wage labor, they felt themselves trapped. Whereas, formerly, engagement in wage labor was for short periods of time, necessitating little adaptation on their part, full-time wage labor required abundant change.

Disturbed by recent alterations to their biophysical environment, the altered social and cultural environment was even more bewildering. Since few of the Metis spoke English well, they found themselves suddenly confronting a social milieu filled with strangers of many nationalities whose behavior was only narrowly predictable. Moreover, they were confronted with long term contact with their fellows, a condition for which their isolated trapping existence had ill-prepared them.



Studies in Quebec have shown that Cree workers have attempted to adapt new situations to traditional Cree patterns (Tanner 1968:62). In addition to the taxi driver previously cited, other natives of Grande Cache have employed similar strategies.

Although some Grande Cache informants reported that they did not mind working alone on an all-white crew, most expressed a direct preference for working with other native people. In this setting, it was considered important for each person to do his share of the work, to mind his own business, and to get along with other crew members. A person's first loyalty was to the other crew members, not to the boss. If conflicts arose, it was common practice for one or the other of the disagreeing parties to leave the work site so as not to disturb the solidarity of the group.

Interviews with native workers indicated that they were particularly sensitive to criticism expressed either with the group or, even more so, by their boss. Although virtually all informants agreed that anyone with a grievance against his boss should talk to him to settle the issue, few appeared to practice this approach. Rather, the native worker seemed to regard grievances as potentially destructive once they were revealed. For example, they felt that a worker who confronted his boss was liable to



undergo verbal abuse from him or become involved in a fist fight.

One employee stated that, "If (he) had a beef with (his) boss, (he) would quit right away." Indeed, this response corresponded closely to observed behavior. Employees who felt that their time cards were incorrectly kept, or who were upset about something else, did not take their frustrations to the boss; rather, they would go on a drinking bout or fail to return to their jobs---or do both.

When asked what employees should do if they needed time off, all respondents answered that they should ask their boss. However, while some employees did, in fact, request time off, most seemed to just stay away without notifying the employer. Often they sent a friend or relative to pick up their cheques at a latter date. A long-time native employee of the logging company left his job to remodel his house. When asked whether he had told his boss that he was leaving, he responded, "Of course not, he's short-handed, he won't let me off."

Although most native people seemed to be aware of employers' expectations regarding taking time off, few seemed willing to adjust their behavior congruent with Euro-





Canadian expectations. Instead, they left the work setting, employing the traditional pattern of conflict avoidance. This behavior precipitated the occurrence of future conflicts with the employer. Since the number of potential employers was limited, the native employee was eventually forced to return to the same employer whom he had recently frustrated. In the case of McIntyre Mines, the job structure was such that re-entry was not too difficult. However, with the logging company the situation was different. Absenteeism caused the company considerable hardship, and employees who returned after having stayed away were often lectured about the virtues of reliability. As a result, they worked only long enough to accumulate sufficient money to leave again without notice to avoid arousing the employer's renewed wrath. Grievances incurred on the job and ventilated in the tavern seemed to reinforce the cycle of irregularity. Ironically, both employer and employee often felt that the other was to blame.

According to native informants, the boss, ideally, was a man who possessed such qualities as kindness, understanding, and wisdom. He told employees when he was dissatisfied and showed them "how to do the job right." He was not abusive and did not get angry if an employee





could not understand his instructions. This description, of course, reflects many of the qualities of the ideal traditional native leader, and parent, as well.

Although traditional leadership qualities differ from Eurocanadian patterns, native workers were prepared to accept, to a certain extent, the hierarchical authority structure common to white work settings. They considered such differences just another Eurocanadian eccentricity, which they had to bear, so long as the boss was not blatantly abusive. Difficulties arose, however, if a native foreman appointed by a white employer was expected to exercise the same authority as did the Eurocanadian boss. Although they accepted authoritarian behavior from a Eurocanadian, many natives appeared to resent a fellow native who followed this line. Such a native was described to be "too big for his britches" or by a variety of more salty expressions.

In one instance, a native person, who had hired a crew of native people to work for him, lost all of his employees when he began to act, as they put it, like a "big shot". This man had emulated the aggressive behavior which his fellow natives associated with Eurocanadian authority patterns.



A native foreman was acceptable to the group if his role was structured in such a way as to allow him to discuss courses of action with the crew and encourage communication rather than if he was made to feel personally responsible for the behavior of the crew.

Summary. During the pre-town period the native people engaged in construction work or bush work for periods of short duration. In this setting they confronted different social and cultural systems. This contact produced stress which they countered by limiting the duration of the contact and confining their interaction as much as possible to other natives since they provided a bulwark of familiar behaviors. Although this behavior reinforced individual cognitive structures, it interfered with the learning required to re-establish cognitive organization. Moreover, adaptation was limited in another way. Lacking well defined methods of group control which extended over time, the employees could not deal effectively with conflict in other than traditional conflict-avoidance terms, which, although preserving the solidarity of the group, threatened individual adaptation. In the pre-town period, the short duration of the employment period allowed the native person to perform well on the job without subjecting him to



unbearable stress levels and jeopardizing the expectations of the employer.

Under the new conditions, however, both the desire for consumer goods and their belief in the destruction of their familiar subsistence base had compelled the Metis to prolong their participation in the "work" setting, thus short-circuiting the usefulness of their traditional stress reduction techniques. Naturally, the Metis have experienced stressors in other sectors of their lives as well. Family relations and the use of money are two areas where stressors are present.

### The Family

Before town came, the family was the key institution in the native society. It performed functions vital for the survival of the group. Many tasks were mutually interdependent upon the tasks of others. Today, being near one's family, being able to spend time with one's family, was reported by native workers as important to them. Yet, as the functions of the family have undergone a transformation, motivations for retaining close relationships with one's family also changed. One of the primary functions of the family seemed to fulfill was providing psychological





support. Native workers reported that home was where a person could relax without constantly having to worry about someone (Eurocanadian) telling them what to do.

Disruptions of traditional family functions, however, did not occur without some disturbing side-effects. The impact of recent changes on the life styles of families in Grande Cache have not been formally studied. Difficulties however, are emerging. For the first time, for example, government representatives are considering charges of child neglect against several sets of parents. Previous research into Ontario Cree undergoing similar changes provides some insight.

In this work situation wives could be of little economic help. There was no longer any need to prepare the husband's hunting gear, his food, help him pack and unpack the sled, hang up his clothes to dry while talking about the trip, skin the animals brought home by the husband, and so on. Moreover, despite the uncertainties and hard work involved in trapping and hunting, there was a kind of excitement when the trapper returned home from a successful hunting and trapping trip. The preparation for the trip, and especially the more or less unexpected arrival of the trappers with a sledload of beaver and caribou, was a joyful occasion in which the whole family participated.

As a wage earner, the husband left his home and returned to it every day at about



the same time, bringing nothing back with him except his pay cheque every other week.

...With wage labour, much, if not all, of the excitement of the unexpected disappeared; husband-wife relations were routinized and uneventful generally. Many of the routine tasks assigned to the women on the trapline now went out of existence, greatly affecting the interdependence of the husband and wife relationship. (Trudeau 1966:98-99)

Trudeau goes on to describe the breakdown of social control in the native family as a result of the transition to wage labor and the contact with Eurocandians at a nearby Radar base. He associates with this breakdown increased drinking, sexual promiscuity, gambling, and stealing. Young native people experienced a new freedom from family control and became a growing concern to both native and white communities.

As the example from Trudeau illustrates, in the traditional family, there was strong role interdependence. As the economic activities of the family shifted to a dominant wage labor pattern, many of the old relationships were no longer functional. Women were not needed to tan hides and make clothing. Many of the women worked side by side with the men in the logging camps. Young women, impatient with the restrictions at home, could find freedom



and have employment at the camp. The changes appear to have introduced additional stressors into the family setting. There were other stressors associated with parenting as well.

Native parents in Grande Cache frequently expressed concern about their loss of control over their youngsters. They worried about children getting in trouble during their school lunch breaks. Frequent requests were made by the native parents to the teacher of a special native class, urging her to make the children stay at school during the noon hour.

Adolescents aroused similar concerns in parents. Some parents complained that the teenagers no longer showed them respect nor listened to their advice. Adolescent drinking seemed to upset many parents. An outfitter decided to quit outfitting after taking his son on an important hunting expedition and discovering that he could not control his son's behavior. The stressors present within the family and confronting them from without promoted nostalgic fantasies about the "goodness" of the past. Many native people expressed a yearning to return to the days of individual and family occupation in the bush. The images they projected it seemed, were of a life free from the cognitive





dissonance they were experiencing in the contact situation. The fantasy of a return to the bush represented a wish to return to conditions in which their cognitive structure was integrated and appropriate to its setting. It represented a memory of individual and group potency. It was also indicative of the failure of their present adaptive strategies. The hostility which usually accompanies Culture Shock existed as well. However, the people's difficulties in articulating hostility even in the traditional setting limited its expression except when alcohol loosened them. Drinking apparently was their inhibitor. It was a traditional source of stress release as well as performing other social functions.

#### Working and Drinking

In discussing the changes which have taken place since the new town came, both natives and non-natives in Grande Cache pointed out that, regrettably, among natives excessive drinking had considerably increased.

Native people insisted that drinking was usually reserved for special occasions before the new town was built. Alcoholic beverages were frequently brought back from trips to Hinton to be saved for Christmas celebrations. Spring trips to Hinton to resupply or trade furs were



usually topped off with a good drinking bout, sometimes before and sometimes after all groceries had been purchased. If the trapping periods did, in fact, inhibit the expression of aggression, then the resupply trip constituted a legitimate opportunity to reduce the accumulated tension through a socially legitimate release---drinking.

There were instances of "moonshine" being made in Grande Cache as well as being packed in for parties, but these activities seem to have been relatively rare. However, what started as light drinking usually turned into drunkenness, a common northern pattern which is considered routine recreation in many northern communities among natives and non-natives alike. Some of the old-time trappers who outfit themselves in Entrance still have regular drinking bouts when they come out in the spring to sell their furs. To be sure, excessive drinking in the bush was hazardous. A man too drunk to cut wood and attend to the necessary survival chores did not last long. Besides, he jeopardized the survival chances of those around him. Therefore, regulating the consumption of liquor had a positive value in traditional native society. The times when a "good drunk" was permitted did not seriously jeopardize survival.



Drinking had a recreational value as well. Native people in many societies enjoyed getting together to drink and visit friends. But, they complained that it was difficult to limit their drinking because of group pressure.<sup>11</sup>

Drinking was also used as a setting to arrange sexual encounters. Several older informants complained that, "Those kids drink 'cause they want to find girls. The girls, they go to the bar or the parties to find boys." However, this motivation seemed to exist among more mature persons as well.

Drinking reinforced group solidarity and traditional values. Under the influence of alcohol, native people suddenly became aware and found a ready forum for the articulation of their grievances against outsiders.<sup>12</sup> They

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<sup>11</sup> Those who go on the wagon are often confronted by old compatriots who tell them they are threatening the solidarity of the group, or the solidarity of old friendships. As a final assault, they accuse them of being "white men". Few can withstand the determined assault of old friends.

<sup>12</sup> The term, "mooniyau" or "auckimau" are used to designate all Eurocanadians. A form of categorization, the first term refers to all Eurocanadians; the second, to a boss or big man. Mothers frequently threaten that "a 'mooniyau' will get you" as a control measure over disobedient children. They also castigate those natives who successfully relate to Eurocanadians as "trying to be a mooniyau". Those natives who have worked individually for Eurocanadians often employ the categorical phrases of the Eurocanadian, e.g., Novi refers to Nova Scotians or limey to Englishmen.





discussed the injustices to which they felt they had been subjected and received widespread moral support. Drinking in a group was part of such social events as the Muskeg Rodeo, the Christmas and New Year's celebrations, and the pilgrimage to Lac Ste. Anne. These events united the participants in traditional singing, dancing and religious observances.

As suggested by the traditional trappers' "bout" mentioned earlier, drinking seems to be a primary release for pent-up tensions. Given the inwardly oriented, controlled and conflict-avoiding disposition which characterized many native people, drinking seemed to become an important means of releasing aggressions and frustrations. Fights among native people, for example, seemed to occur primarily when they had been drinking. Many native people do not consider those who become aggressive under the influence of liquor responsible for their behavior; thus condoning aggression under special circumstances.

Abstinence was sometimes introduced for religious reasons. A native whose father had been quite ill reported that he had once promised God abstinence if his father were to be cured. He fulfilled his promise for a time. Recently, he renewed his promise in another effort to save his



father, who seemed near death. The old man later recovered again. Such a vow did not extend to other family members and, thus, concerned only the individual.

Non-drinking did not have the widespread community support that drinking did. Heavy drinkers who had gone "on the wagon" said their friends often got together to wear them down so they would start drinking again. The converse was not true, however.

Drinking seemed to be considered a legitimate cure for personal defeat, rejection, or humiliation. A man who heard that a woman in the community was spreading defamatory rumors about him consciously decided to get drunk as a means of curing his feelings of humiliation. First, however, he let it be known far and wide that his character had been unjustly besmirched. Then he made arrangements for others to look after his children and proceeded, with his wife, to get drunk.

A woman who had a fight with her lover went on a three-week binge until her lover succeeded in persuading her to return. Several employers reported having had to dismiss some of their employees because they had gone on a drinking bout that lasted for a week or more.



The duration of time spent in drinking seemed to vary. It was not unusual for some individuals to go on a protracted bout lasting a month or more. In the same way, they turned about and abstained for several months or a year. One employer suggested that native people who drink fall into the three following categories:

1. The "Saturday-through-Monday" types;
2. The "all week" ones;
3. The "good" ones.

The categories, of course, reflect his emphasis on work attendance. Type 3 were those who regularly meet the work schedules. Type 1 were those who had a good time on weekends, which they tended to extend by a day or two. Type 2 were the totally unreliable ones.

Old-time employers often took responsibility for their employees' drinking. For example, after the completion of a successful trail ride, when everybody had been paid, they would deposit their crew in town, knowing that the men would go to one of the two or three bars. Before the next trip would commence, they would drive to town and, in some cases, literally carry their native employees to the truck, dump them in, and proceed back to camp. The employees would be roused in the morning, given a couple of stiff drinks to ease the pain, and sent off on the next trip.





One of the larger employers of natives in Grande Cache protected his interests by paying on Friday rather than on Thursday night, which was the usual payday for most construction firms. He picked up employees in town on Sunday to ensure that they returned. One Saturday evening, when he spotted a group of his employees taking off on a drinking bout loaded with beer from the tavern, he walked over exclaiming, "You fellows have the right idea. I will buy you some more beer so we can have an even better party." He returned with another batch of beer and took everybody to camp, thus ensuring that he would have his crew together on Monday morning.

According to some store owners, liquor substitutes were increasing in popularity. Vanilla extract, long a favorite substitute, had given way to "Scope" mouthwash and hairspray in Coke.

Regardless of the reasons for the increase in alcoholism, the addiction jeopardized the survival of the native people in their new environment. In times past the effects of excessive drinking were apparent and of concern only to immediate survival. Today, the dangers are more obscure but the potential for self-destruction remains. For example, for the first time, government agencies are considering taking children from those parents who appear



to be neglectful because of drinking. A young girl died of exposure related to excessive drinking. Two native adults, one a mother of nine children, were struck and killed while drunk and walking on the highway. Another mother of seven children died from accidentally inhaling alcohol. The stereotype of the drunken Indian, which gradually established itself in the non-native sectors of the community, destroyed the rapport which had existed between natives and non-natives during the early period of town development. Natives viewed the increasing drunkenness among their people with considerable alarm, moral indignation, and resignation to its inevitability.

Summary. Drinking appeared to fulfill a number of social and psychological functions. Recreational or social drinking tended to develop into excessive drinking. In the traditional setting, drinking seemed to be a useful release for pent-up tensions associated with interpersonal relations while on the traplines. In their new environment, however, excessive drinking interfered with successful adaptation, generating extreme stress which seemed to deflect the individual from successful resolution of his stress.



### Money

The native people of Grande Cache who worked regularly earned more money than they had at any time in their lives. Yet, they were deeply concerned about their income and feared that they might become destitute unless they worked constantly.

As hunters and trappers, native people led a feast-or-famine existence. When hunting was good, they feasted; when it was not, they starved. Similarly, when trapping was good people celebrated, paying off old debts and spending what they had. They bought as much as possible to last as long as possible, depending upon credit to make up the difference if they were short. The aim was to buy as much as possible to be prepared for hard times. Later on, the money earned from casual wage labor or guiding was spent in a similar fashion as that from trapping expeditions. People worked for a given period of time and were paid when the job was completed. Again, a feast-and-famine pattern evolved. Earnings were spent to forestall famine in the future. Adherence to this traditional pattern of money spending may account for some of the financial problems native people encounter today.





Credit buying had been a significant part of native life style. The Entrance storekeeper maintained firm control over the amount of credit each customer was permitted to charge. Similarly, storekeepers in Grande Cache decided on the amount of credit allowed each native customer in accordance with the customer's estimated ability to repay. Many storekeepers reported that, with regard to paying off debts, they had more faith in some of their native customers than in some of the non-natives. Unfortunately, some of the native accounts tended to drag on for six months or longer. Although storekeepers knew that the account would be settled eventually, they preferred to see it paid off within several pay periods. Some merchants held their customers to a maximum pay period of two weeks.

Carmen Loberg, executive secretary to the Native Area Development Committee, has conceptualized a process which he calls the "multiplier effect". He explained that the trading relationship developed with some of the Grande Cache merchants was very similar to that which had existed with the Entrance storekeeper, including the process of setting limits on the amount of credit extended. Complications arose from the natives' mushrooming credit



relationships with merchants all over town. The financial restrictions imposed under the traditional setting were no longer effective in the New Town, where the possibility of opening credit accounts with several merchants eliminated effective money control.

Grocery shopping was often based on the same credit system. A customer patronized a storekeeper who was considered a "nice man", that is, the one who offered most auxiliary patron services. Grocery store managers were regularly asked to come down to the store on weekends to cash pay cheques for employees of the logging company. These workers were paid the last working day of the pay period to ensure that they did not take an extra day off. Thus, instead of receiving their pay cheques every two weeks on Thursday (as is the custom elsewhere), they were paid every other Saturday.

Grocery shopping was done every two weeks. Natives estimated they spent between \$150 and \$200. The manager of one of the grocery stores estimated that his credit customers spent between \$50 and \$100 every pay period. Occasionally, they might pick up additional items if they were in town between paydays.



The native people of Grande Cache had a reputation for financial responsibility in times past. Interviews with merchants in the Hinton area revealed that the pattern changed abruptly when the New Town came. Native people who had debts in Hinton simply no longer bothered to repay. Perhaps with the arrival of the New Town, a principal factor in social control disappeared. The native people had ceased to be dependent upon the Hinton merchants for patron services and, therefore, no longer needed to keep up good relations with them. The lack of adequate credit controls in Grande Cache, resulting in the "multiplier effect", posed a similar problem. Some of the Metis characterized Eurocanadians as money lovers, or stingy, in distinction to themselves, who were generous and willing to "help anybody out".

Loans. Informal loans seemed to be an important part of socio-economic behavior of the Grande Cache native people. Not only did native people borrow regularly from each other, they borrowed regularly from their employer and from other non-native persons on whom they felt they had some sort of claim as customers, friends, or clients.

One informant distinguished between two categories of small loans: a loan made to a member of one's family





and that made to someone else. The former was not expected to be repaid, but the borrower was obligated to reciprocate if, at a future date, the loaner needed money. Loans to outsiders were expected to be repaid. The small loan pattern may well be an extension of the traditional norm of reciprocal assistance, which applied to family and neighbors.

The NEOC fund extended small term loans to native persons, which, according to the CSD, were always repaid in full. When the financial affairs of the community were taken over by the NADC, the loaning practice was discontinued because funds were simply inadequate.

Merchants who were asked for small loans felt somewhat ambivalent about handing over cash because they identified the request with a plea for drinking money. Nonetheless, they usually extended a loan of \$5 or \$10, in the interest of a strengthened patron-client relationship.

Banking. Attitudes toward saving money and, secondarily, banking, varied among those native people who were interviewed. Several respondents suggested that not to spend money, or to put money in a bank, indicated stinginess. "Money should be used for living," one respondent explained. Most of the informants, however, indicated that it was a good idea to put money away for



emergencies. One informant added that, while she thought it was a good idea to leave some money in a bank, she was unable to do so because she supported herself and her children and could barely "scrape by" as it was.

The task of examining the bank's attitude toward native customers and, indeed, the actual banking practices of native customers was particularly difficult, given the confidential nature of the bank-customer relationship. Since there were only two banks in town, it was virtually impossible to report any results without jeopardizing the confidentiality of the informant-researcher relationship. One bank manager explicitly requested that no information be printed, while the other indicated that, for the most part, native people requested only small loans, upon which he was unable to maintain a business. At present, few native people qualified for larger loans in terms of their liquid assets or established formal credit ratings at banks.

Summary. The use of money in the New Town setting clearly indicated an attempt to adjust present circumstances to familiar patterns. Unfortunately, this form of adjustment did not reflect the realities of Eurocanadian patterns in the New Town. The disjunction between the two generated



considerable stress and confusion for both parties. Eurocanadians increasingly saw the Metis as a bad risk, while the Metis feared not having sufficient money to live. They also saw themselves as confronted by debts which they felt were impossible to repay. Some informants severely castigated themselves for their inability to handle money thus increasing their stress level while others blamed the Eurocanadians, seeing themselves as victims. Either way, the stressors were not reduced, adding to the stress generated in other sectors of their lives.

Financial independence was a traditional virtue in pre-town times. During the first years of the town, both natives and development specialists pointed with considerable pride to the lack of social assistance cases in the community. Today, their increasing financial dependence constitutes an important stressor.

#### Social Assistance

Before coming of the New Town, there were no social service agencies in the area. One person was reported to have made arrangements in Hinton for old age assistance.





Providing social assistance for native families was started upon the insistence of the former CSD. Such aid, frequently in the form of food vouchers, could be extended to people who were temporarily out of work.

A social worker with two years experience in Grande Cache estimated that social assistance was limited to those who were classified as "unemployable," either because of age or illness, or because they were heads of single-parent families. During the research period, the number of people on social assistance seemed to have remained fairly stable at about seven or eight persons out of a total population of approximately 215.

Since Canada Manpower opened an office in Grande Cache, those who were temporarily out of work could apply for unemployment insurance. They supplemented their cheques with "bush" food and occasional trapping.

Formerly, nearly all native people seemed to pride themselves on their self reliance rather than having to receive government social assistance. Recent evidence indicates that some native people are now learning to manipulate the welfare system rather than engage in wage labour.

The low welfare rate among natives was often held up to visiting government officials as a sign that the



people were industrious and self-reliant. The native community, for the last several years, has asked the government to provide development funds amounting to the equivalent sum they figures they were eligible to receive on welfare (\$200,000 plus) for one year. The people suggested that their self-reliance was their best collateral. If given adequate capital, they could ensure their continued self-reliance through socio-economic development. Some of the more cynical native people argued that the government will never give them the money until they were on welfare. Increasing reliance on welfare during the last few years seemed to indicate that some sort of a welfare trend may evolve. Perhaps the natives' unwillingness to meet Eurocanadian work expectations and their increasing reliance upon the government unemployment system or the government welfare system is a result of their failure to obtain resources which would provide alternatives in the form of socio-economic development.

#### Earning Potential and Actual Income

Rising consumer expectations combined with their belief that the old days were gone persuaded the natives to look toward wage labor as their economic mainstay. The government's repeated failure to provide development funding for alternative employment had also strengthened



the natives' growing dependency on wage labor. It is paradoxical that, despite the increase in money earnings, the native people felt that they had never been so poor. This section examines the current employment choices available to them.

Listed in Table 6 are approximate gross figures, indicating the natives' earning potential with various employers. These figures do not account for deductions or for overtime. The calculations are based upon a person working the maximum amount each month.

Both grocery delivery service for married couples and board for single men were provided by the logging company. Some families estimated their grocery bills to be as high as \$300 to \$400 each month. Single men were charged \$2.50 per day for food. Accomodation to both groups was free of charge.

One logging company employee estimated his take-home pay was \$800 per month, while his wife's was \$450. He added that he could not understand why, if they were making so much money, they "were always broke". Another employee received \$597 during a recent two-week pay period. Both these men were considered stable employees who rarely missed work and did not spend excessive amounts of money on drinking.





Table 6

Natives' Earning Potential with Various Employers

Grande Cache, Alberta

<u>Logging Company</u>	<u>Rate/ Hr.</u>	<u>Hours/ Day</u>	<u>Days/ Week</u>	<u>Total/ Month</u>
Laborer (male) without powersaw	\$3.25	10	6	\$ 780
Laborer (male) with powersaw	4.25	10	6	1020
Laborer (female) without powersaw	2.50	10	6	600
Laborer (female) with powersaw	3.50	10	6	840
Equipment Operator	4.00	9	6	864
Sawyer	4.00	9	6	864
Laborer (male) Mill	3.25	9	6	762
Laborer (female) Mill	2.50	9	6	540
Cook	2.50	11	6	660

McIntyre Mines Ltd.

Laborer (male)	5.39	8	5	862
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New Town of Grande Cache

Maintenance Crew	3.50	8	5	560
(After a three-month trial period, satisfactory employees went on a salary of \$645 per month with a \$35 raise each year.)				

Lands and Forests

Fire Crews (six month basis)	\$21.50 per day plus room and board. If used over 48 hours, they are put on fire wages at \$2.25 per hour, or \$2.00 if not certified.			
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<u>Trapping</u> (full-time)	\$3,000 to \$4,500 per winter
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<u>Guiding</u> (trail rides)	\$20 per day
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<u>Guiding</u> (hunting)	\$25 per day
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<u>Outfitting</u> (trail rides)	See Table
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Pay sheets for several workers who were considered unreliable were checked. These men earned between \$62.40 and \$140.00 each two-week pay period.

Table 7 contains the projections in estimated cash flow for an outfitting business capable of handling twelve clients. Annual costs approximate \$19,200 and gross returns, \$30,000, leaving a profit of \$10,800. Projections of cash flow for a five year period indicate an expected profit in the third year of \$1,600 after paying for all capital investments. Accumulated net profit in the fifth year is estimated at \$23,000.

The calculations do not take into consideration increases in prices or increases in number of clientele that might be accommodated. Each of these factors is directly dependent upon the season, the nature of the party, and the clientele.

The figures would be higher if the household head worked all summer and all fall. The following estimate allows time for traditional relaxation and celebration. If the family had children old enough to wrangle horses and help trap, the estimated profits would be considerably higher.



Table 7

Estimated Cash Flow for an Outfitting Business Capable of Handling 12 Clients  
(from Richmond, 1974:5-6)

<u>Year</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Initial Investment	\$30,800	\$(20,000)	\$( 9,200)	\$ 1,600	\$12,400
Annual Income	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000
Annual Costs	19,200	19,200	19,200	19,200	19,200
Net Return	10,800	10,800	10,800	10,800	10,800
Cumulative Gain Over Initial Investment	(20,000)	( 9,200)	1,600	12,400	23,200





Assuming average earnings (and assuming that only the household head is working) of a family head who traps in the winter full-time, guides trail rides for two months, and guides fall hunts for two months, show an earning potential of:

Trapping	\$4,500
Guiding (trail rides)	1,200
Guiding (hunts)	1,500
	<hr/>
	7,200

The above figures indicate that a reasonable income can be made both from wage labor and from the traditional economy. Estimates for the latter-type income are based upon good fur prices and residence on native lands. It is, therefore, hypothetically possible for the natives to be financially self-sufficient. However, a different system of budgeting and money allocation rather than the traditional system would have to be implemented.<sup>13</sup> The continued reliance upon traditional systems serves to maintain stress levels and reinforce the destructive patterns of adaptations.

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<sup>13</sup>Explicitly this means the substituting of native values for white, or the development of entirely new systems developed by the natives.



## Summary

Since the government of Alberta failed to take into account the needs and rights of the indigenous native residents when planning for the industrialization of the area, the Metis were placed in a difficult position when the town and mine were constructed. Not only were they deprived of the opportunity to decide whether or not the development should take place at all, but once the construction took place, they were denied the resources to develop adaptive strategies which would be consistent with their desires and cultural values.

The Metis, therefore, found themselves in a position in which their options for choice were severely limited. The encroachment of unprecedented numbers of Eurocanadians, the environmental changes brought by industrialization and urbanization caused many of the Metis to perceive that a return to their traditional hunting and trapping economy was impossible. Many felt that involvement in the wage economy was their only alternative. Since most of the Metis spoke Cree as their first language and since they had had only limited



prior knowledge of Eurocanadian society, their choices in terms of alternatives for participation in the social and economic life of the town were few.

The changes experienced by the Metis were so overwhelming and comprehensive that they could not but have caused severe cognitive disorganization or culture shock. The attempts to redefine the new conditions in terms of familiar adaptive strategies such as developing patron-client relationships, preferring to work in all-native work crews as well as the maintenance of traditional money handling patterns, illustrate some of the first reactions to culture shock (see Countershock Phase, page 58a). That is, when confronted by conditions where one's cultural knowledge is inappropriate, one of the adaptations to stress seems to be the reinforcement of familiar behaviors in an attempt to restore a sense of cognitive equilibrium.

But these measures, without the benefit of resources for further learning and adaptation proved to be but a temporary shelter in the storm. Difficulty in interpersonal relations threatened the long term usefulness of the traditional work group as an adaptive tactic in wage labour. The use of patrons as buffers against painful contact with whites, interfered with the acquisition of cultural learning and created dependencies





upon whites, which in the long run worked against the interests of the Metis. Despite the fact that they were making more money than ever before, they perceived themselves as being in a desperate financial situation; totally dependent upon wage labour for economic survival.

Categorization, another adaptive technique associated with culture shock, may have helped to render some Eurocanadian behavior more predictable, but it was not augmented by the learning required to facilitate comfortable bicultural adaptation. The attempts initiated by native people to facilitate such learning through educational and development projects were not well supported by the government, even though they consistently promised to do so. Further adaptation or cognitive resynthesis was, therefore, effectively blocked, producing a situation analogous to Wallace's Principle of Conservation of Cognitive Structure."

The individual will not abandon any particular conceptions of reality (including, therefore, his culturally standard concepts) even in the face of direct evidence of its current inutility without having had any opportunity to construct a new mazeway ... (1970:203).



The Metis, in effect, were denied the opportunity of readjustment of their environment as a means of dealing with the new stressors, while at the same time being denied the options for acquiring the cultural knowledge which would allow for selective participation in the new town's social and economic life. They were left with primary adaptive tactics which they were aware were not working but which offered the only claim to a coherent reality which they possessed. Faced with the destructive forces of assimilation on one hand and the stressful conditions surrounding their present modes of adaptation on the other, they faced what Wallace has called, "the dilemma of immobility."

Individuals for years will cling to a disordered socio-cultural system in which events do not follow reliably rather than face the anxiety of cultural abandonment (1970:204).

This sort of dilemma explains the deflection of the general adaptive sequence in the direction of behavior which is destructive over the long term.<sup>14</sup> Many of the Metis found themselves increasingly

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<sup>14</sup>By destructive, I mean behavior designed to reduce stress but which produces additional stressors, e.g., the dependence on alcohol as a major stress reducing mechanism or stress reducing mechanisms such as work absenteeism which lowered self-esteem.



powerless as their attempts to promote change on their terms were not supported and their major adaptive strategies failed to reduce the stress. The stress level raised and they engaged increasingly in stress reducing mechanisms such as excessive drinking, which although sometimes temporarily useful for stress reduction, tended to generate additional stressors. Throughout this sequence many experienced a serious loss of self-esteem which accentuated their already high level of stress.





## CHAPTER VI

### SOURCES OF STRESS AND PATTERNS OF EUROCANADIAN ADAPTATION

Chapter V presented an argument for the existence of high levels of stress among members of the native community. This chapter argues for the existence of high levels of stress among members of the Eurocanadian community as well. Moreover, it will be noted that although some of the stresses differ, many of the adaptive mechanisms seem to be similar.

#### Perceptions of Change

##### The Bio-Physical Environment

The coal industry in Alberta peaked many years before the opening of the McIntyre-Porcupine mine at Grande Cache (Ross 1974). As a result, when McIntyre began operations there were few skilled miners available in Alberta. To meet the immediate demand, the mining company, with the cooperation of the federal and provincial governments, began recruiting in other parts of Canada and abroad since the mine 'at that time' intended to use the



long wall system<sup>1</sup> of mining, they focussed their recruiting initially upon those areas where long wall miners were readily available, the United Kingdom and the Canadian Maritimes. Miners were also recruited from Japan, Korea, Saskatchewan, British Columbia, and Europe.<sup>2</sup>

The recruiting process involved contacting suitable Canadian miners through Canada Manpower Centers as well as by sending out McIntyre recruiters to mining areas both in Canada and abroad. However, in 1972, the mine, in cooperation with the provincial Department of Manpower and Labour began training locally recruited miners.<sup>3</sup> It was felt that locally trained miners would have fewer adjustment problems.

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<sup>1</sup>Developed in the U.K. and Europe, the long wall system lends itself to mining flat seams of coal varying in size from 100 yards to thousands of yards in length. Coal is extracted by a shearer machine which makes consecutive passes across the short end of the rectangular block of coal. The roof where the shearer is operating is supported by a series of hydraulic chocks (jacks) across the length of the face. Chocks are advanced as the shearer moves forward allowing the roof to cave in behind them in an area called "the gob".

<sup>2</sup>The recruitment of workers from diverse backgrounds seems to be a feature common to Canadian industrial new towns (Derbyshire 1960; Lucas 1971).

<sup>3</sup>The advantages of the local training program are discussed in detail by R. H. Tubb of the Division of Vocational Education, Provincial Department of Manpower and Labour in Report on the McIntyre Mine Training Program, memo (no date) and W. D. Gillies of McIntyre Porcupine Mines in Recruitment and Training of Coal Mine Personnel. Paper presented to the Canadian Conference on Coal, September 19-22, 1972.



The recruitment process involved company representatives visiting local areas to contact miners directly. Through a cooperative arrangement with the federal government, manpower officers in the Maritimes also assisted in the recruiting process. Sometimes miners from Grande Cache accompanied the company recruiters to assist in the recruitment. Advertisements were placed in local newspapers and at Canada Manpower Centres. The recruiters then met with the prospective employees and their wives. Apparently, pictures of mock ups of the new town and its environs were shown to the miners with the implication being that all of the modern facilities which were pictured already existed.

Miners who passed the medical examination were notified to proceed to Grande Cache. Apparently they were encouraged to sell all of their belongings and property before moving. The miners left for Grande Cache believing that accomodation awaited them and their families in a new idyllic town.

The importance of these early expectations and the subsequent resettlement experience must not be underestimated. The miners had, in effect, staked their lives on the prospects for a rosy future as presented by the recruiters. The discongruity between their expectations and their perceptions of the realities of the new town could only promote cognitive dissonance and the beginnings of cognitive disorganization.







A Nova Scotian miner related these experiences during the Crump Commission proceedings (p. 284).

- Q. And how did you come to contact McIntyre?
- A. Boody White came down; he is one of our fellow Nova Scotians, he came down to Glace Bay and he came to visit me. And he told me about they were looking for shear operators. He said they had the most modern mine in Canada. Plus he said it was a little town snuggled in the foothills of the Rockies and there's alot of stuff he told me that I found out later wasn't true.
- Q. Was Mr. White employed by McIntyre?
- A. Yes.
- Q. And can you tell me what things he told you that were not correct?
- A. Well, the first thing he said was it was the most modern mine in Canada. I never heard such a ridiculous statement in my life when I seen it. The next thing he told me was that the cost of living up here was about the same as where I was living and there was no comparison whatsoever. The biggest thing he said to me was to sell all my furniture at home, don't take anything up here because I could get it cheaper. I found out different.
- Q. Did he tell you how you were going to get it cheaper?
- A. Well, he said they had stores up here, "I mean furniture stores that you could get you furniture, he says, cheap, especially small appliances and stuff like this, he said, leave this all behind.
- Q. Did you?
- A. Oh, yes, it's still behind.
- Q. Did you understand there was some special outlet or other?
- A. No, he just told me that the stores were about the same cost of living out there.
- Q. As where?
- A. As in Glace Bay.
- Q. And this wasn't so?
- A. No.

Later, under cross-examination, the miner continued his description of his resettlement experiences (p. 296).



- Q. Yes, and as you have indicated, you have five children and I think you say in the brief that considering the chronic economic problems in the Maritimes you thought Grande Cache would be a better outlook for you children as well as yourself?
- A. Yes, I did, but I found out different.
- Q. Well, sir, did you bring your family out here with you or did you bring them out later?
- A. I came out, I worked for a month.
- Q. Then brought your family out?
- A. And then I went into Edmonton to pick up my wife and I got off an airplane here in Grande Cache and a beautiful mine truck picked us up and I had to grab hold of her because she wanted to get back on the airplane and go home.
- Q. But you were here a month before you brought your family here?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did your family come with your wife or ...
- A. Yes, sir.
- Q. So you knew the conditions before you sent for your family; you knew the conditions here before you brought your family out?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you get these benefits we have talked about, the resettlement grant?
- A. No, I didn't get it.
- Q. Was that a promise to you?
- A. Oh, that was a promise; that was one of the things that I couldn't get. Could I go on a little further?
- Q. By all means.
- A. Well, this grant that you were supposed to get a thousand dollars. I came up and like my fare was paid, the thousand dollars plus the wife's and the children's fare was paid out of the thousand dollars plus the hotel that we stayed in. So it was a matter of \$40, \$45 it was in around that area was supposed to come back to me?
- Q. You mean the expenses were \$960?
- A. Something to that effect. But when I went to get it they said, "Oh, very sorry, you come under a new policy." So this new policy that I come under was that I couldn't get the thousand dollars, I couldn't get the remainder but very conveniently two men come up





behind me the next month from the same town and got the remainder of their money plus when I moved in the house, \_\_\_\_\_ was paying \$110 a month for that house. Fortunately when I went over to get the key to that house and sign the contracts for that house, \_\_\_\_\_ turned around and said, "Everything is arranged; go and get your utilities hooked up and lights and everything and you got everything paid. I come back and she said, "My god, \_\_\_\_\_, we got a new policy." She said, "You got to pay \$165 a month."

Q. Did you pay it?

A. No, I went out to the mines like a bull and I went into Barry Roberts' office and I said, "If I got to pay \$165 I'll take it right out of your hide." And he said, "Oh, don't get excited." And I said I am....

Q. I didn't hear the last bit.

A. And I said, "I am God damn well excited." And I turned around and me and Barry Roberts had it out right there and Barry dropped it to \$130.

Dissatisfaction with what they found in Grande Cache was not limited to Nova Scotians. A British miner who arrived in Grande Cache in October, 1969 recounted his experiences (pp. 171, 172).

Q. And where had you lived prior to coming to Grande Cache?

A. England. I originated from Durham but I spent two years in Nottingham prior to coming to Grande Cache.

Q. Were you recruited in Nottingham?

A. Yes.

Q. And how long have you been engaged in mining prior to coming to Grande Cache?

A. Nineteen years.

Q. And was that underground mining?

A. Yes.

Q. How did you happen to learn about McIntyre Porcupine's interest in recruiting miners?

A. I saw it in the paper.





- Q. In England?
- A. Yes.
- Q. And as a result of that ad did you go to a recruiting centre or a meeting or something like that?
- A. Yes, the first meeting I went to it was mainly to sort of---it was sort of a get together, you know with the wife and family and---they were also invited, and they just gave you the basic plans which the company wanted to build.
- Q. What basic plans were you given at that time, what were you told about the work that you might come to?
- A. They told us there was a signed contract with the Japanese for fifteen years, the housing that they had and weather conditions, you know, climate conditions, and they showed a short film on Alberta. They had another film available but through some circumstances, I don't know exactly what it was, they just couldn't show the film on the Smoky River.

He went on to say (pp. 174, 175)

- Q. Did you and your family go to the first meeting, the one with the film?
- A. Yes---sorry, just me and the wife went.
- Q. Now in what ways when you came here did what you find vary from what you had been expecting? Were there any promises, assurances, understandings, from your point of view about the allowances for moving, that weren't carried out?
- A. From my point of view, no---you are talking about the thousand dollar grant?
- Q. Yes.
- A. No.
- Q. And was anything said to you about the cost of living here that wasn't borne out by the facts, or the cost of utilities or services?
- A. It is difficult to go back.
- Q. No, but you know, you feel some grievance about this, do you?
- A. I think that there was some mention of a store in town where we would be able to buy things at a reasonable price like, but other than that, no.



Q. What was this, who told you this?

A. This was in, I think, in the first meeting, I think it was referred to, I am not quite sure, but I think it was when \_\_\_\_\_ was asked to go and to give the ladies' point of view to the meeting, they asked her to give the ladies' point of view to the women that was at the meeting.

Q. And was there some advice that there was some special arrangement available in Grande Cache?

A. I don't think, it might be, but I don't think so.

The feelings of bitterness, of betrayal turned up repeatedly in interviews conducted with miners. The only exceptions seemed to be those who were recruited locally or who came to Grande Cache on their own without having been formally recruited.

Not only was there disparity between what the miners were told and what they found when they arrived, but, apparently, there was considerable disagreement between what different recruiters told miners.

A. Well I was---to tell you the truth I was greatly surprised when I landed in Edmonton and were told it would be two days or so before we would get up to the mine, and the day after landing we got a phone call at the Greenbrier Hotel and were told that Mr. Ray Wallinder would pick us up and we got to the camp about two o'clock in the morning and when I got up the next day, you know, and went out to where we were staying, it didn't seem very much of that at all, at the time, and I was deployed to 5 mine and I was a bit surprised at the roof bolting system, that was the first thing that struck us, you know, the roof supports.

Q. Why?

A. Well, probably because I am not used to it, I am always used to something above my head.



- Q. What did you find, what was this condition, the roof bolting?
- A. Well, I had never even been used to roof bolts to support the roof and that is why I was surprised.
- Q. Did that give you any concern, other than surprise?
- A. Yes, at the general outset, it did give us concern.
- Q. In what respect, in what way?
- A. Well, I thought they weren't safe, I thought, surely these can't hold the roof up.
- Q. Did it?
- A. Yes, at times.

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_'s statements about concern for mine safety will be developed more fully later. Suffice it to say that concern for personal safety was another stressor. Later in his testimony he recounted expectations which were not met upon his arrival (pp. 181, 182).

- Q. Were there any promises, assurances made to you about the housing in your discussion in England that weren't carried through here, other than it not being ready?
- A. I'm not quite sure on the prices, the price quotations but I didn't bring anything with us but I believe, and I could be wrong in this, that the lowest price home was quoted around eighteen thousand dollars but I come out and at that time that we come out without the families and we went on camp and waited until the house was ready.
- Q. Do you know what the lowest priced house was?
- A. Twenty-one thousand, I believe.
- Q. Did you buy a house?
- A. Yes.

Some miners, who came under the auspices of Canada Manpower Centre, reported that they had been told they would receive \$500 upon arrival in Grande Cache. This money,







they said, was to be used to purchase furniture for a new house. They were also told they were allotted \$1000 to relocate, out of which tickets and accommodations were to be purchased. Other families claimed they were promised an additional settling-in allowance of \$500, to include \$200 for the husband, \$100 for the wife, and \$200 for the children. Evidently these latter arrangements were promised by Canada Manpower Centre in Nova Scotia. It was expected that the local (Grande Prairie) Canada Manpower Centre would abide by such arrangements. Often, the local manpower office had not been notified of such arrangements, engendering considerable delay, as well as confusion and feelings of frustration on the part of the miners.

Some families were told that housing would be immediately available for them when they arrived. Others were told they could expect to live for a short period of time in company trailers which would be completely outfitted for them. Some families said that Canada Manpower Centre told them that Canada Manpower Centre would move their belongings if they lived for a year in Grande Cache. Those who sold their homes were to be given \$1000 subsidy. Personal belongings, such as clothing and kitchen wares were mailed when families left, often arriving six weeks after they did.



The initial travel and recruitment period seemed hardest on the Maritimers. Since most of them were recruited from economically depressed areas and many were on social assistance or unemployment insurance at the time of recruitment, they had few financial resources to pad their resettlement.

Although their resettlement allowances covered the cost of airfare, meals and accomodations, they had few funds to spend while they waited sometimes for as long as six weeks in Edmonton. Mothers complained that it was difficult to entertain themselves and their children when they had no pocket money. Children became bored and restless, adding to the general tension of waiting.

### Settling-In

When families finally left Edmonton and arrived in Grande Cache, it became disastrously apparenty that they had been led astray. The town was a mass of confusion and construction noise. The streets were dirt and rubble, the air choked with the groan and dust of heavy equipment. What homes existed sat like isolated citadels on dirt lots, islands in the midst of rubble and confusion. Movement about town meant negotiating piles of debris, the excavated pits and trenches, while constantly on the look out for the large machinery which crawled here and there. Like the



miner's wife mentioned earlier in the Crump Commission hearings, many of the families indicated that they wanted to turn around and leave as soon as they viewed the town.

The most immediate problem confronting the families when they arrived was setting up housekeeping. What few personal effects the families brought with them would not arrive for many weeks. One family reported that among a group of seventeen people who arrived together, there were four forks, six cups, and one butcher knife. Several families, however, reported that members of Smoky River Investment, the mine housing company, helped by loaning them blankets.

Housing per se posed major problems. The promise of good housing was an important motivational incentive for many mine employees coming to Grande Cache. They believed that new, attractive, and moderately priced homes would be ready for them when they arrived. To their chagrin and frustration, they found that the houses were, for the most part, not ready when they arrived and were more expensive than they expected.

To ease the housing problem, the mine provided trailers for the families awaiting permanent housing. The first trailer complex was located near the western edge of the town, a great inconvenience for women with small children, most of whom were without vehicles for transportation.





During the summer of 1971, as the need for housing accelerated, trailers were placed near the eastern boundary of the town in the vicinity of the two commercial trailer courts. Although much closer to shopping facilities, these trailers were crowded together in a dirt lot. Miners on night shift found it difficult, if not impossible, to sleep during the day because of the noise. There were no play facilities for children so the children dodged in and around the trailers playing in the dirt and mud, depending on whether it had rained recently. Near several trailers excavation trenches left by workmen installing facilities proved a source of considerable anxiety for mothers of toddlers. The parents of older children worried that since there was little for the children to do, they would wander into dangerous construction areas or initiate mischief in the town. Families also worried about children wandering into nearby forests and becoming lost or of running afoul of the numerous bears who frequented the town 24 hours a day. Needless to say, trailer living provided a variety of stressors for mine families.

In addition to the trailers, some families found temporary housing in the two mine-subsidized apartment buildings in town. During the spring of 1971, the mine housing authority attempted to force non-mine employees out of the apartments to make room for the mine families.



This caused considerable consternation for the residents since there were few other dwelling alternatives. When one tenant threatened legal action, the mine rescinded the directive for him.

Miners living in apartments and houses were confronted with the dilemma of furnishing their dwellings from scratch. The cut rate furniture discount stores which some miners insisted they had been told existed in Grande Cache were a myth. Miners had the option of either buying new furniture from the one furniture store in town, ordering from the Simpson Sears mail order store or traveling to another urban center to shop. Since many of the miners did not possess any cars they were forced to buy new furniture and appliances from one of the two local outlets.

Many of the first arrivals from the Maritimes attempted to furnish their new homes with new furniture all at once. Within a short time, many found themselves with serious financial problems. Since many of the families brought rather substantial debts with them, the dilemma was magnified. Even families who arrived in Grande Cache debt-free found it frustrating and financially perilous to completely furnish their homes with new furniture.

Although mine housing provided home ownership without the necessity of a down payment and with subsidization



of payments, it also proved a major stressor in a subtle way. Since mine housing went with mine employment, a miner who quit, was killed, or was fired, lost his house, unless he had lived in it for ten years. When trying to account for some of the tension and fear they found in their fellow miners, the leaders blamed a part of it on the housing policy. They said the men were afraid to speak up to supervisors or in anyway do anything which could jeopardize their position and cause them to be evicted from their houses. Moreover, if a man was fired and appealed the decision, action on the case might take as long as six months to settle. During that time a miner must theoretically vacate his house. Miners obtaining housing had to sign a waver giving up their rights under the Dower Act<sup>4</sup> This waver, although of questionable legality, caused considerable anxiety to miners who feared for their families' futures if they were killed.

Non-mine employees also found housing a difficult problem. The hardest hit were those who came as employees of the school or to work in the various businesses in the town. The government agencies provided houses for their employees. Larger private entrepreneurs often had sufficient

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<sup>4</sup>The Dower Act, among other things, provides that a wife cannot be evicted from the family dwelling upon the death of her husband.





capital to build a house, while smaller businessmen or their employees were stuck with finding rental accommodations in a scarce market. Town employees, such as teachers, were confronted with a considerable dilemma, as well, even though the town provided incentives for them to purchase property. Many of the teachers arrived with the notion that adequate housing was available for them. The new town-owned apartments were both expensive and few. That left teachers with the problem of either building a house or buying a trailer. Because of the high town utilities costs, a trailer owner sometimes paid as much as \$350 per month including stall rental and trailer payments. At that time, apartments were renting for between \$125 and \$250 per month. Many of the teachers were reluctant to build houses until they had lived in the town for awhile and decided whether or not they wished to stay permanently.

A lack of recreational facilities for teenagers was a major concern for many parents. They feared that without adequate recreational facilities teenagers would get into mischief in the town.

Other sources of bio-physical stressors involved the school system. The school system in Grande Cache suffered from many of the problems which affected other aspects of the town, the problems of overnight development. School construction, like housing construction, never seemed to be able to keep up with the demand. Classrooms were overcrowded and supplies were in short supply. During



the first year, upper level high school students studied by correspondence since the upper level curriculum was not yet developed. Parents of upper level students worried about the quality of the children's education. While the school administration suffered under constant pressure trying to meet the demands for physical space and facilities, the teachers tried to cope with crowded classes, and a shortage of teaching materials.

Although the miners who were recruited were, for the most part, experienced miners, they found the mine conditions differed from what they were used to. Further, although they were all long wall miners, apparently the procedures used in the Maritimes and in the United Kingdom differed significantly. When the long wall technique was abandoned this necessitated further adjustment. The following excerpt from the Crump Commission report reflects the dilemmas (p. 265).

- Q. And how long had you been mining in Nova Scotia prior to being recruited?
- A. Eight to ten years, sir.
- Q. And were you experienced in most operational phases underground?
- A. Not the type they had here, sir. We have continuous mining, long walls, but not like the long walls they have here.
- Q. Were you involved in long wall mining?
- A. Yes, we could call it, but a different style of what the United Kingdom was used to. We were what you call gob work. Continuous mining, long wall faces, not shears and stuff like that, you know.



- Q. It was a long wall method...  
A. Yes, sir.  
Q. ...carried out in a different manner?  
A. Yes, sir.

A British miner recounted similar problems (p. 191).

- Q. Did you---let me ask you a question that was asked earlier---did the change from long wall to continuous mining cause some upset or disturbance, did this bother you or were you **capable** of working in both areas?  
A. No, it did upset me because you have been a long wall miner for quite a number of years and you come into something strange you have to readjust. For some fellows it is okay, you can readjust quick, you know, but quite a few of the lads that had been used to long walling it takes them quite a long while to adjust.  
Q. Did you find that you could make the adjustment?  
A. I adjusted pretty quickly, yes.

In addition to the questions of adjusting to different mining techniques or procedures which confronted the miners they were also confronted with the critical issue of mine safety. Many of the miners believed the mine to be unsafe and the management negligent in its safety precautions. The death of seven men in the mine seemed to support their contentions.

During the Commission proceedings, a Toronto representative of the United Steel Workers Union International expressed in general terms the miners' concerns (p. 131).

They felt they had been betrayed in this area. They felt, sir, when they arrived and saw, I am talking about qualified miners with many years of







experience in the kind of mining that they---and they find that there were not the right kind of mining techniques being employed; they didn't have the right faith in the equipment in some cases and they felt that there was a lack of understanding of the problems by those who were directing. I think those who will give evidence here today will indicate that the safety conditions in the mine were such that the miners know they have to work safe or they can't work at all. And their feeling of safety reflects their whole ability to proceed with the job of extracting whatever is being extracted, in this case, coal. They were, of course, faced with the fact that there were a substantial number of people in this mine injured and killed. I am not exactly certain of the figures but it seems to be that something in excess of 60 per cent of the deaths in the mines in Alberta have taken place here. These have an effect on the ability of miners to apply themselves.

More specifically, another miner during the hearings described in considerable detail his view of hazardous conditions (p. 288).

The roof conditions was ridiculous; you couldn't get very little coal off the face. Everytime you would go to cut, the whole roof and everything would just keep coming in ahead of you as you were moving ahead.

A British miner expressed a similar concern (p. 193).

Q. Had you worked retreating long walls?

A. Yes.

Q. Did these conditions which you have described to us affect the safety of the operation?

A. Yes, it did because all the roof was broken up by the, you know, after they had pillared out the left-hand side and the weight had been thrown across---what we call the weight, when



You get a pitch in the seam the weight is all tending to move downhill so they take away all the left-hand blocks so all the weight comes down onto the pillar, the one you intend mining, therefore the roof is already broken up when you get to it.

Another stressor was the remote mountain environment itself. Heralded as an idyllic location by the recruiters, some miners from the prairies felt hemmed in and crowded. Others, used to short distances between Eastern Canadian towns or European hamlets and villages, seemed to find the remote location of Grande Cache oppressing and alienating. The effects of isolation have been noted by chroniclers of Canadian new towns (Lucas 1971) and debated by others (Mathiasson 1970:22). This dilemma was heightened by the fact that few of the miners came with automobiles. The trains which frequented the mine did not offer passenger service. Although later a bus service was established between Grande Cache and Hinton, this service necessitated a journey of between five and seven hours each way to Edmonton. For those who chose to drive, the road to Hinton presented an obstacle itself. Until recently, the journey took as long as three hours. During the first year the road was a narrow forestry service road, full of potholes and hazardous curves. Since the building of the town several deaths have occurred on it.



Although influenced by other bio-physical stressors in the town setting, many of the business people and teachers were eastern Canadians and seemed to not be as bothered by feelings of isolation as the eastern miners were. Many had brought cars with them and had friends and relatives within reasonable driving distance. Perhaps most important, they were used to the long journeys commonly engaged in by travelling western Canadians.

### Summary

In Grande Cache the residents encountered a variety of stressors originating in the conditions of the bio-physical environment. In addition to the expected stressors occurring when an individual is transported from one physical environment to another, the Eurocandians had to cope with the chaotic conditions associated with the construction of a new town. The lack of appropriate housing, shopping and recreational facilities generated considerable stress. Moreover, the mining conditions, with their possible dangers, were perceived as very threatening. The inadequate physical plant of the school provided stressors for all concerned with it. Merchants were fearful of the uncertain development of the town and worried about their own economic propects. Many residents felt considerable disillusionment because they felt that they had been led to believe







that one sort of bio-physical environment existed only to find, upon their arrival, not only a different environment but one which provided a multitude of stressors.

### The Social Environment

In older, more established communities, the framework for social interaction has been developed over the years. In a new town, particularly at the beginning, no such comprehensive agreement exists. This is not to imply that in older towns people rigidly follow some sort of social printout, rather that there exist networks of relationships which provide structures for day to day relations. The role expectations of common relationships are sufficiently shared to allow predictable behavior. In Grande Cache no such predictability of a general sort was possible. People arrived individually and in groups coming from many different backgrounds and traditions. This means that under many conditions role expectations differed sharply.

Two examples of the former situation occurred within the mine and school systems. In the mine, not only were there disagreements about the right way to do particular tasks but there were disagreements between miners and supervisory personnel. The final report of the



Crump Commission states that tensions were created as a result of these diverse expectations (p. 35-36).

It also appears probable that the recruitment of large numbers of miners from other provinces and countries introduced additional problems to the operation of the mine. These men and their families experienced great social changes in moving to the new remote community and these created certain tensions. Moreover, they sometimes brought to their new employer traditions and attitudes and practices which required discussions or retraining or changes in schedules and plans for the operation of the mine. For example, rockbolts are seldom used for roof support in European coal mines although they are very commonly used in American mines, and the use of rubber tired mining machines depends on the use of rockbolts for support.

During the Commission hearings numerous examples were provided of supervisor-miner controversy. A British miner recounted his experiences (pp. 177-178).

- Q. Tell me, Mr. \_\_\_\_\_, these kinds of problems are these problems that you encountered in other mines and other circumstances?
- A. Not really, no.
- Q. Were these isolated incidents?
- A. No.
- Q. Could you see any root to this difficulty, could you see where it lay?
- A. My own personal view was there was no---from the boss laying the deployment at times with his instructions to get his crew by the time he would give his crews his instructions these orders were repeatedly changed and I think that caused a lot of low morale among the men. I could give an example on that, too, if you would like.
- Q. Yes?
- A. I went into LN7 and the fire boss told us to position the miner in a certain place to produce coal and it is not just moving the miner, it entails LN cables, pull in





slack cables for your miner, which we did do too. We were just ready to start mining and the pit boss come in and he wanted us to move from this area to another area, which they did do, and then they had two pit bosses and one was sort of above him, I don't know, now when he come into the district he again wanted to change, and in fact I lost my cool a bit like, and there was a bit of an argument there and we did stay in that place but up to then it was nearly 11 o'clock, getting on for lunch time and we hadn't mined any coal.

Q. Again, is that a problem that you have encountered working in other mines?

A. I don't think I have ever had a problem like that.

Miners, confronted with differing expectations of the appropriate way to perform a job expressed threats to basic aspects of their identity, the ability to perform as trained tradesmen. Similarly teachers experienced threats to their professional identity.

Almost from the beginning, a division between the Board of Administrators and the principal of the school developed. Although the initial disagreement involved the development of the school's physical plant, the disagreement spread to other issues as time went on. The principal, for his part, felt himself persecuted by one board member in particular. His feelings of persecution were not without some justification because this board member seemed to derive particular pleasure from belittling and embarrassing him as well as public petitioners who came before the board. As mentioned in a foregoing section, the principal was particularly vulnerable to such embarrassment because of the normal difficulties involved in developing a school system on





short notice, the inadequacy of the physical plant, the lack of appropriate teaching materials, and the shortage of suitable housing for teachers. Although the principal bore the administrative brunt for these conditions, it was the teachers and the students who were most directly affected. Those teachers who had taught in more established communities reported that they had never experienced a more difficult situation to teach in. Few of the teachers belonged to community organizations and indicated that they felt isolated from the rest of the community. They felt that teachers were not appreciated and nostalgically recounted anecdotes of having taught in communities where parents invited them to social gatherings.

Some of the teachers complained that the administration would not consistently back them up in cases where disciplinary action was needed. They felt that this seriously undermined their credibility. Moreover, in issues which demanded action by the school board, they felt that the school administration would not intercede with the board on their behalf.

Both teachers and school administrators reported frustrations and resentment toward parents and children. They reported that many of the students seems to just be marking time until they left school to work. Parents were often characterized as refusing to take responsibility



for their children. The teachers felt the parents viewed the school as a babysitting service. Much of their ire was directed towards parents from the Maritimes whom they saw as either abusive or irresponsible. That is, parents frequently did not respond to invitations to joint meetings about their children. When such meetings did occur, they were described as unpleasant by the teachers because the parents entered the encounter defensively, often with considerable vehemance.

Many parents, for their part, had considerable misgivings about the school. Since many of the parents originated from different parts of Canada or from abroad, they found some parts of the Alberta system were strange and unfamiliar. Their primary focus was upon the high school. They saw the principal as engaged in a continual conflict situation with the teachers. Some reported that they felt threatened talking to either the administration or the teachers. Some indicated that the teacher would only meet them on their own home ground. Some of the Nova Scotians felt they were being lumped with other Nova Scotians in the community where being a Nova Scotian was considered a social liability. They said that some of the teachers criticized their children for their Nova Scotian dialect. They said that they decided to discontinue going to parent-teacher meetings because many of the teachers left early or were unavailable for interviews. One mother from Nova Scotia said,



I feel like if I go and sound off it'll go back to the kids. I'm afraid to say what I think. If there's nothing they can do about it I told them (the children) to take it. It's their education.

An English mother felt that the curriculum was inappropriate to the children. She felt that a trade and business curriculum should be offered. She complained that some of the teachers couldn't understand her children's speech. At the same time she pointed out that many of the children could not understand the East Indian teachers' speech.

Several parents complained that there were few alternatives for problem children. There were no school counsellors and problem children frequently ended up as discipline problems. A western Canadian parent viewed the teachers as all sticking together and hostile toward parents. She reported that one of her children's teachers seemed to be drunk every afternoon. Several parents complained that discipline in the school was lax. Moreover, students who conscientiously strove to attain good marks were criticized by other children. Most parents complained that the high turnover of teachers made it difficult for the children to gain any feeling of security in the school.







Although some of the parents interviewed were openly hostile towards the school, the British and western Canadian parents tried hard to temper their criticism with comments which indicated their awareness of the difficulties inherent in arranging a new school system.

Parenting, in general, was perceived as being particularly difficult in Grande Cache. With many of the miners on shift work, a good portion of the burden for parenting fell upon the wives. They were responsible for dealing with the school, protecting playful pre-schoolers from the rubble and hazards of their environment, negotiating the trips back and forth through construction areas on shopping trips. Moreover, they were responsible often for relating to the town officials and establishing rapport with the other strangers in the neighborhood. Many wives found all the tasks overwhelming. They expressed loneliness, anxiety and bitterness. Some quarantined themselves in their houses, refusing to go out unless absolutely necessary.

The general confusion over roles made normal social interaction confusing and sometimes threatening. Status and prestige systems were unclear, thus making it difficult to order behavior appropriately.



At best, what existed were part-systems. That is, individuals within a particular group might be aware of the particular sets of roles and status within their subgroup or organization and able to operate in that setting, but were insecure outside of it. Overlaid on these systems was ambivalence. Thus, although miners and workers might work in terms of structure in their organization and might get together to drink, it was miners with miners, management with management, but on the job they referred to each other familiarly by first names. When different organizations held open parties both management and worker drank openly together and related on familiar, even intimate, terms. Similarly, other sectors of the community related to miners and management with the same familiarity at these parties. In the course of normal, daily affairs mine management, government officials, and private sector persons used familiar terms of address. However, non-management people apparently were rarely invited to management houseparties, much to their chagrin.

Social alienation, role confusion and general ambivalence surrounded much of the interaction in Grande Cache. Residents were continually confronted with situations in which the behavior of others was at least partially unpredictable and, therefore, threatening. Moreover, with the constant turnover of residents it was difficult for people to establish workable relationships.



### The Cultural Environment

Although the foregoing discussion focussed primarily on examples of bio-physical and social stress, inextricably woven into the discussion were examples of cultural stress. Cultural stress is generated by challenges to a person's cultural system, that is the system of knowledge, attitudes, ideas, and beliefs which permit individuals to function in a given social and bio-physical context.

The heterogeneity of the Grande Cache population necessarily meant that people entertaining divergent cultural systems and subsystems were in continual contact with each other. In such contact situations, there were continual clashes concerning the "right" way of doing things, with normative connotations of a particular set of behaviors and meaning inherent in particular events explicit.

In Crump Commission testimony previously quoted it was apparent that miners differed significantly on the appropriate procedures for mining coal and for maintaining safety. They also disagreed about what constituted appropriate miner to boss relations as well as the proper obligations of the company to its employees. For example, Nova Scotian miners tended to view the mine management, as indeed, officials in general, with considerable suspicion and hostility. While British miners focussed upon the paternal obligations owed to them by the mine, they reacted







with hostility and suspicion only when they felt the mine management had let them down. The Nova Scotians seemed to consider that the mine or any community authority figures would exploit them.

Teachers as well as miners had been recruited from divergent backgrounds. There were western Canadians, East Indians, Australians, Britons and others on the staff. For some the system used procedures, both educational and administrative, which they found strange and sometimes repugnant. Moreover, they came into contact with children from equally diverse backgrounds, some of which spoke little or no English when they arrived. There were children from the economically depressed Maritimes, from India, Korea, Britain, the United States, western Canada, central Canada, China and Europe. There were also the Metis-Cree from Grande Cache. This diversity in cultural tradition produced considerable confusion, frustration and stress on the part of most participants. Under normal circumstances one could expect some discongruity and tension between staff and students of the school since the one is charged by society with enculturating the other, who frequently entertain disparate views. In the Grande Cache system confusion existed both horizontally and vertically as to what constituted appropriate norm values and behaviors. There



were widely divergent perceptions of meaning surrounding most events regardless of whether students, staff or both were involved. In a way the school system mirrored, in microcosm, the conditions of cultural confusion and stress extant in many sectors of town life.

Although many parents worried about their children, they frequently articulated concerns and solutions, revealed aspects of the divergent cultural systems. Again, the widest differences seemed to be between the Maritimers and Britons. In very general terms the many British and western Canadians sought to encourage teenage behaviors which were of potential economic advantage, that is, they encouraged school participation, followed by later economic or trade training. The emphasis was upon the teenager somehow making it through adolescence and then into a useful career. An excerpt of testimony from the Crump Commission reveals a Maritime parent's concern for the teenagers, but the emphasis seems to be upon doing something to benefit the adolescent in terms of where they are. That is, there seems to be an implicit acceptance of the right of adolescents to the subculture even if it is not congruent with adults'. This view would be sharply criticized by many of the British and western Canadians.



Mr. Crump examined the following witness (pp. 300-301).

Q. I have only one question, As you know, the Commission is charged with looking at all aspects of the community as well as other matters. On page 12 of the brief that you have before you and I spoke to Mr. Cook about this. It is quoted here:

" \_\_\_\_\_, the father of teenagers, spoke out for young people when he ran for town councillor earlier this year. 'I took a stiff position on teenagers,' he says. 'these are kids who are going to run this town in the future, and we're doing nothing for them.'" Could you expand a bit for us?

A. Well, Your Honour, I don't know if you have teenager children yourself...

Q. Grandchildren.

A. Grandchildren, but I have three teenagers; I have one young fellow, my oldest boy is 18. He is leaving this town this year because this is his complaint, he says there is nothing here for him. I have two teenage daughters and don't believe we're going to hold them either unless this Town can come up with something very substantial and very soon and what I mean by that is the teenage kids today like you mention-d earlier about this beautiful arena we have over here, I go to agree with you. But if you don't like to skate or if you don't like to swim you pretty well haven't got anything. The biggest thing that I wanted to try to get over to the people of this Town is the teenage person is a person that, well, they are not, like they





were widely divergent perceptions of meaning surrounding most events regardless of whether students, staff or both were involved. In a way the school system mirrored, in microcosm, the conditions of cultural confusion and stress extant in many sectors of town life.

Although many parents worried about their children, their frequently articulated concerns and solutions revealed aspects of the divergent cultural systems. Again, the widest differences seemed to be between the Maritimers and Britons. In very general terms many British and western Canadians sought to encourage teenage behaviors which were of potential economic advantage, that is, they encouraged school participation, followed by later economic or trade training. The emphasis was upon the teenager somehow making it through adolescence and then into a useful career. An excerpt of testimony from the Crump Commission reveals a Maritime parent's concern for the teenagers, but the emphasis seemed to be upon doing something to benefit the adolescents in terms of where they were. That is, there seemed to be an implicit acceptance of the right of adolescents to their subculture even if it is not congruent with adults'. This view would be sharply criticized by many of the British and western Canadians.



like to go out; the like to go into a place and sit down and have a glass of coke and turn the juke box on and just pile themselves full of sweets. I mean, this is just their kind of life. I don't agree with it, but that's their kind of life and I think we should try to get something for them.

The diverse views between Eurocanadians and natives also reflected cultural differences. The Eurocanadians perceived the land settlement for native people in terms of the potential economic advantages available to the natives. Those who opposed it justified their position by stating that the natives wouldn't make use of the land or who were these natives to stand in the way of industrial development since it was inevitable. While the native people viewed the land tenure primarily as a refuge against Eurocanadian domination, they sought to develop the land for economic benefit as well.

The Eurocanadians viewed the natives' participation in the labour force, the presence of a school system for



their children as a wonderful opportunity to get ahead. The natives viewed wage labour initially as an opportunity to make money to buy the variety of new consumer goods available to them. "Getting ahead" in the Eurocanadian sense was not a part of the scheme.

The articulation of native desires and goals by native leaders and their retinue of consultants in the town paper and at official meetings posed a threat to value systems and belief structures of town officials, government officials, and school staff.

Stressors to an individual's cultural system occurred daily in a variety of contexts and together with the stressors from other sectors of life engendered a heavy burden of stress upon many people.

### Summary

In the foregoing discussion an effort has been made to identify stressors in the bio-physical, social, and cultural environments of residents of the New Town. These stressors acting interdependently severely challenged the cognitive organization of many new towners.





They produced a state of stress known as culture shock.

It is important to note that the potential effects of culture shock were increased by the recruiting practices of both government and industry. Culture shock would probably have occurred to some extent simply because of the radical differences present in the social, cultural, and bio-physical environments of the town. The conditions, however, were exacerbated by the recruiter's reluctance to paint a true picture of the town and its varied environment. Since adaptation to culture shock involves learning, this learning could have been facilitated by describing the realities of the town to potential recruits and by acquainting them with the hazards to be encountered. The government - management complacency in these recruitment descriptions contributed to the new towners' disorientation upon arrival and jeopardized their possible adjustment.



## Reactions to Stress

This section is concerned with some of the adaptive strategies used by new town residents to reduce stress. One can perhaps make two gross distinctions in stress reducing strategies: those which seek to adapt in a direct way to reduce the effects of the stressor, thereby opening the possibility of permanent reduction of stress; and those which attempt to alleviate the experience of stress without focussing on the stressor. These two strategies may operate independently or in combination.

Since culture shock begins when an individual becomes aware of the inappropriateness of his cultural knowledge to cope with the new environment, one of the first and most predictable reactions is a desire to return to or establish contact with persons and places which are familiar and which fit his cognitive system.

Among new town residents this sort of behavior was apparent in a number of ways. First there were those who simply returned home after a short stay in the new town. The data does not establish a direct causal relationship between leaving town and the experience of culture shock. Rather, the framework being used strongly suggests that culture shock might be a contributing factor



but demands further study before a valid assertion to that effect can be made.

One aspect of the evidence suggests that wives may have had an important role in the outmigration of some families. The foregoing section stated that wives bore a large part of the parenting responsibilities in the new town. They, in effect, were exposed to a number of wide ranging stressors. There were many reports during the time the research was in progress of wives attempting to influence their husbands to leave. Some wives, it was reported, attempted to get their husbands drunk or in other ways influence them so that they missed their shift and would be fired.

The exceedingly high turnover rates in Grande Cache and, indeed, in most new towns strongly suggests that miners are unable to cope with the new town environments. Counter arguments that miners leave for better wages or that they only came to stay a short period in order to make a fast buck do not hold up. At the time wages and benefits offered in Alberta were much higher than either their home areas or surrounding provinces. The "fast buck" argument would seem most appropriate to construction workers rather than miners. Since the construction jobs were usually of short duration, construction workers came to Grande Cache expecting to leave after their job was finished while many





of the miners reported that the understanding that McIntyre had a fifteen year contract was one of the reasons they gave for deciding to move. That is, they reported coming all the way to Grande Cache because they wanted to build a new life. The Crump Commission Report (1973:35) states that during 1970 the labour turnover averaged 7.7% per month, or a rate of 90% for the full year. It is highly improbable that many men would immigrate with their families simply for one year.

If returning to familiar environments helps to reduce the cognitive disorganization associated with culture shock so does associating with those of similar background. Thus, Nova Scotians sought out Nova Scotians, British sought out British, government employees associated with each other or with western Canadian entrepreneurs and teachers with teachers. Naturally, these actions were not all inclusive. There were exceptions but, by in large, people seemed to try to seek out and associate with those from similar socio-cultural traditions.

In some cases the tendency to seek the familiar resulted in the support of voluntary associations. Although this feature of adaptation will be dealt with more fully in a chapter to follow later, it may be mentioned that many of the formal associations, such as the Optimist or Kinsmen



Clubs, were established and maintained during the research period primarily by those possessing similar backgrounds or values. Similarly, recreation groups, such as baseball teams, were made up of persons feeling some sort of kindred spirit. For example there was a Nova Scotian baseball team, a British Soccer Club and so forth.

The teachers are a good example of the tendency to reduce stress through banding together. Although a few of the teachers participated in community organizations which involved members of various groups, most did not.

In earlier sections the dilemma surrounding the principal of the school was described. Feeling himself threatened by both the Board of Administrators and his staff he created a myth which defined the non-school world as hostile. Frequently in staff meetings he reminded the teachers that the Board of Administrators was anti-teacher and that the community was against them. These remarks, for many added additional stressors to those already entertained. The teachers reacted to their stress in a variety of ways. Many teachers, like the miners, left each year. Those who remained, however, tended to restrict their social relations to other teachers. In 1971, all of the high school teachers were interviewed regarding these questions. Most stated that, of their social contacts, most were only with other teachers. Others said that they



knew only a few people who were not teachers. The fact that many teachers were housed together in the government apartment buildings helped foster their exclusive social and cultural environment. Many of the teachers described the town as being a place where teachers weren't wanted. Some said they were afraid to have a drink in the tavern for fear of being accosted by a drunken parent. Others were puzzled by what they described as the unfriendliness of the parents who, unlike other communities, rarely asked them out socially.

Perhaps in response to their feelings of alienation, they often articulated hostility toward those whom they perceived as responsible for the stress: The Board of Administrators, other town officials, students, and parents. Sometimes the merchants were attacked for being opportunists.

A hostile reaction to their environment was not unique to the teachers. The miners viewed many of the mine supervisory staff with hostility, recounting incidents of overbearing supervisors, lax safety conditions, and inept operations. But they saved a considerable amount of ire for the merchants. Some miners reported that the recruiters had told them that prices would be at discount rates in Grande Cache. During the Crump Commission hearings a miner produced a McIntyre document which apparently made the same claim (p. 194).







- Q. Were there any promises made to you with respect to cost of living, or utility cost that weren't borne out when you got here?
- A. Yes, there was one thing that was mentioned previously about the discount stores. In fact, there is a reading on McIntyre's themselves here. It states, furniture and appliances certain local merchants have agreed to make available to employees a wide range of household furniture, appliances and equipment at discount prices. The company will provide the names of those merchants on request but does not necessarily recommend those specific outlets to the employees.
- Q. What are you reading from?
- A. I am reading from McIntyre's own employee relations policy and company benefits policy.
- Q. Perhaps we can identify this and we will get copies of it.

The hostility toward merchants in general and food prices in particular developed into an important issue during 1971. People from different parts of the world invariably compared prices and products which were familiar to them from back home.

In 1970 the miners, in desperation, petitioned McIntyre Porcupine to open a company store. They also wrote to the Premier requesting his intervention. In a private meeting held with various town notables, the General Manager of the mine assured them that the mine had no intention of opening a company store, stating that the mine had a definite policy against intervening in town affairs. In February, 1970 he reported that the company had announced they had conducted a food cost study which indicated that the prices in Grande Cache were 26.3



per cent higher than Edmonton and 9.5 per cent higher than Hinton. The issue was taken to the HRDA Coordinating Committee which requested another price comparison study for the town. A few months later in February, 1971 miners organized to protest the high costs in Grande Cache. Local stores were picketed shortly thereafter. As a further protest the Union arranged busses for shopping trips to Hinton. The same month the Premier announced that the government would conduct a food price study. In March the study, which had been conducted by the Department of Municipal Affairs was made public. The study indicated that Grande Cache prices compared favorably with those of Hinton, Peace River, Grande Prairie, and Edmonton. Although the active protests gradually subsided the resentment toward the merchants continued.

In one instance, a group of miners sitting in the tavern were having a farewell party for a Nova Scotian miner who had been fired by the mine. Shortly thereafter, a group of merchants, on their way home from a Chamber of Commerce meeting, came in and sat quietly at a table across the room. One of the miners from the send off party came over and loudly asked the merchants if they weren't ashamed of themselves. When asked why they should be ashamed of themselves the slightly intoxicated miner told them that they were responsible for "driving a



fine young man down the road". The miner in question was notorious throughout the community for his irresponsible work behavior. The miner who was accosting the merchants suggested that the merchants were greedy and only interested in their own selfish interests. A spokesman for the merchants defended them by pointing out that the mine supplied the miners with housing, paid them when they were sick and couldn't work and paid their way to Grande Cache and home again, if they didn't like it. In contrast, no one took care of the merchants. They risked everything coming to Grande Cache and, for the most part, were losing money on the venture. The confrontation, although narrowly avoiding a fist fight, ended in relieved confusion. The miner withdrew to his table to digest the merchant's comments while the merchants, still somewhat confused about the sudden attack, were pleased that a fight had been avoided.

Environmentally directed hostility was not unique to the teachers or miners, the merchants, on their part, felt they had been led astray by government promises about the advantages of investment in Grande Cache. Many reported that some official or another had promised them freedom from competition for two or three years only to find that another store had been given an opportunity to develop. Moreover, the population had not become as large as the government had predicted thus, they felt, cutting their anticipated profits.







They resented members of the community whom they considered to be affluent but who regularly shopped in Edmonton to avoid the alleged high prices in Grande Cache. They also resented many of the miners who skipped town leaving them with bad cheques and debts. Since some of the first Nova Scotians recruited fell into this category, for many merchants the term "Nova Scotian" was synonymous with financial irresponsibility. English people who haggled over small differences in price, or compared Grande Cache prices with those in Great Britain also earned their scorn.

The association of various stereotypic behavior with a particular group played another important role in adaptation. It created an illusion that behavior was predictable again. Moreover, it invested the cause of one's stress in other people. The profusion of peoples with differing social and cultural systems made behavior highly unpredictable and, thereby, stressful. By categorizing people according to specific, real or alleged characteristics they were able to achieve some measure of cognitive reorganization. Categorization seemed to have been employed by most sectors in Grande Cache, although the distinction changed with different groups.

Nova Scotians, for example, were sometimes characterized as being dirty, lazy, drunk, and neglectful



of children as well as financially unreliable. These characteristics were summed up in the term, "Novi" or "Dirty Novi". Similarly, Britons were sometimes characterized as being cheap, dogmatic, reserved, autocratic, and stuffy.

Derogatory characteristics were not universally applied to the same groups. Groups which appeared to be similar to one's own group or, at least, were not threatening were favorably characterized as opposed to those who were threatening. During the first years of the town the town staff was continually barraged with complaints or requests for additional services. They found many of the Nova Scotians were abusive in their relations with them and frequently, when discussing affairs with other staff, used stereotypic or categorical terms either to explain or categorize their behavior. While the British residents were often extolled as the anti-thesis of the Maritimers, the school staff tended to follow a similar pattern. Merchants, other western Canadians, or Nova Scotians sometimes used different categories depending on the nature and content of their relations with the group.

The categories were extensively applied in the work setting as well. Nova Scotians often complained that their British supervisors were abusive and



authoritarian. Moreover, they said that having come from a welfare state they weren't used to working hard to meet production quotas. They just wanted the company to take care of them.

In an interview a high level mine official who was originally from Britain, reported sentiments reflected by some Britons about Canadians workers. He said that he had heard that Canadians were unusually industrious and hard workers, yet, when he came to Grande Cache he found just the opposite was true. Canadian workers had to be continually pushed to produce and then their work was not up to par unless they were carefully checked.

The school provided a mirror for the use of categorical descriptions applied elsewhere in the town. Children, echoing the categories of their parents, frequently were heard to call other students "damned limies" or "dirty Novies". In spite of denials by the school staff and the assertion that everybody got along well with everybody else, the children seemed to operate in terms of the same guideposts adapted by their parents. Sometimes these guideposts adapted by their parents were used as epithets which resulted in playground fights. Later when work unreliability became a problem for





Eurocanadian employers and when excessive drinking was highly visible, whites began to fall back upon the usual derogatory native stereotypes, when discussing natives. While natives used the term mooniyau (white man) as both a general classification and epithet, natives also made distinctions between Eurocanadians by adopting the categorization of various sectors of the white community. They were most apt to use the term "nigger" to refer to anyone of dark skin, lumping East Indians with blacks. Their use of the term was always in a derogatory manner.

Categorical classifications were particularly evident when a head lice epidemic emerged in the winter of 1971. When head lice first developed in the town, mine and local health officers attempted to treat those who possessed the lice as well as to determine the source of the lice. Rumors in the community were rife. Some said the lice were brought by the English, others by the Maritimers. Children discovered to have head lice were sent home from school to be treated with a shampoo and then returned. This treatment placed a particularly heavy burden on women of the community because every time a case occurred in their family, the house, with the bedding and clothes had to be cleaned. Moreover, repeated treatment of the scalp with the shampoo tended



to cause sores on the scalp. It was often the case that children who had been intercepted with the lice caught them a short time later through contact with other children whose parents had not been as diligent with the treatment. The parents then saw their families suffering as a direct result of those who would not take proper precautions. Consequently, the stress level in the community rose as parents saw their efforts to comply with health regulations designed to wipe out the disease frustrated. More and more, there was talk of drastic reprisals against those who were seen as the culprits. The anger frequently brought into play the ready repertoire of existing social categories.

A meeting was held with local health officials, school authorities, mine officials and concerned citizens. During that meeting epithets were bantered about in the open, apparently with considerable anger. Everyone was looking for a scapegoat. Someone finally suggested that the native people were the source of it all. This explanation might have carried the day despite the relatively good qualities which were then attached to the native person's stereotype, had not the local Medical Officer of Health told the group that head lice had not existed in the area prior to the establishment of the new town. The problem was finally resolved by using the RCMP to force families who were reluctant to keep up the treatment to do so.



Another adaptive technique to reduce stress associated with confusion was to ignore status distinctions. Thus, frequently fairly prestigious persons in town were addressed in familiar terms. In the same way people tended to ignore hierarchical patterns if they wished assistance on a problem. They would simply go over or around the intermediate officials in the system, taking their problems to the top. Such actions imputed a patron-like power to the top official. The expectation was that the top official could negotiate and control his bureaucracy when the new town resident could not hope to negotiate the confusion he perceived in the organization. For example, new towners frequently appealed to the HRDA Coordinating Committee or their MLA or even the Premier rather than negotiate with the school board or the town Board of Administrators. Sometimes top mine officials were approached directly to mediate in domestic disputes of personal problems.

Curiously, the minority groups in the community did not seem to be as involved in derogatory categorization. The Metis-Cree, Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans had fairly positive characteristics assigned to them. For the most part, they were described as hard working, polite, friendly, etc. It was only during the head of the head lice epidemic that anyone inferred any negative characteristics to the natives and that was quickly squelched. This arrangement began to shift in later times as the natives' behavior changed and the integration of other groups increased.







Leaving Grande Cache, reinforcing one's own cognitive system by relating to those who entertained a similar cognitive stress or projecting the source of one's stress onto the environment and treating it or objects in it with hostility all were used to attempt to deal directly with stressors. Similarly, the categorization of different peoples made behavior more predictable and reaffirmed one's own cognitive structure.

Drinking, however, relieved the stress temporarily but did not directly reduce the stressor, except when other stress-reducing techniques accompanied drinking. During the research period excessive drinking appeared to be a major recreational event. It may be said that it was also a major stress reduction technique. There were frequent complaints that some miners and their wives spent most of their off-work time in the tavern.<sup>5</sup> Drinking, which resulted in lost work time, was a frequent cause of company reprimand or firing. There were some reports, although unsubstantiated, that continual drinking contributed to the financial indebtedness of many families.

All-night house parties were a frequent weekend occurrence. These parties were employed by most groups including professionals and teachers. They involved drinking for most of the night, culminating with a breakfast at someone's house. This is not to imply that

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<sup>5</sup>Members from anti-miner factions argued that the reasons miners were price conscious was that they spent their money either on skidoos or drinking.



everyone attended these parties or that they remained the entire night, rather that the parties were held by most groups and that they were such common weekend events as to be a general community recreational pattern.

A key component to learning new behavior requires the ability to communicate with other members of the group, although there were distinctive dialects among the Eurocanadians and Europeans in the town, for the most part, they could communicate, providing them with an essential tool for eventual cognitive resynthesis. However, the high labor turnover in the town exacerbated the problem of personal learning and community integration because it frustrated the development of common patterns of mutual expectations necessary for reasonable, smooth interactions. School and mine staff complained that no sooner would employees become acclimated to a job than they would have to recruit and install new employees beginning the process all over again. Moreover, a common knowledge that large numbers of people were leaving and being recruited threatened the sense of security of those who stayed and made more difficult the adjustment of those who came. In many employment circles on the outside, Grande Cache gained the reputation of being a "problem town". The economic prospects of the town were considered precarious and the social climate unwholesome.



On the other hand, some individuals no doubt were successful in resolving or coping with their culture shock. For example, a British miner quoted earlier in the Crump Commission testimony adapted to the operations and different mining techniques he encountered. He also achieved and held a leadership position in the union and was later elected to the town council.

Membership in the women's groups in the community have shifted from being primarily the wives of either western Canadian businessmen or mine managers' wives to those of miners' wives. An innovative project began in 1972 which attempted to deal with the stressors encountered by the wives. Two women met with women on every block in town. They listened to their complaints and problems and developed, with the women, programs for the women which dealt with their problems. Women interviewed who were associated with the program during 1975 indicated considerable satisfaction with the program. Some of the women indicated that their main problem was to provide similar programs for their husbands who either worked or drank.

The increasing development of the commercial area has removed some of the complaints about lack of competition and the practices of businessmen, thus softening the characteristics attributed to businessmen.







A similar process has occurred in other sectors of the town. The mine management had been thoroughly overhauled as have such institutions as the school system. Although the labor turnover rate is still high, it is possible that more realistic coping mechanisms are being developed in some sectors of life.

### Summary

In the first part of this chapter, stressors were identified in the bio-physical, social, and cultural environments. These stressors produced a state of stress known as culture shock. Although the description presented separated these stressors for the purposes of analysis, they must be considered mutually interdependent. Thus, stressors recognized in one area could be influenced by action of stressors in another area of experience.

The experience of culture shock or cognitive disorganization appears to have been a widespread phenomenon among New Town residents. Miners, teachers, businessmen, and civil servants were, to varying degrees, affected. Attempts to resolve the stress varied with different groups and involved both attempts to change outward conditions as well as attempts to restore inner cognitive equilibrium through the adaptive sequences presented in the scheme for bicultural adaptation (p. 58a).



Like the Metis, one of the first reactions to culture shock was an attempt to reinforce one's own cognitive structure through forming associations with those of similar socio-cultural traditions. At the same time, miners attempted to change mining practices so that they were consistent with their own past experience. This led to conflict both between miners from varying backgrounds and between miners and management. The persistent stressor arising from safety problems, however, tended to coalesce miners against management. In reaction to the stressors arising from housing conditions and prices for commercial goods, some miners directly confronted housing authorities and organized to protect food prices. In the latter venture the miners were joined by some teachers. A food co-operative was organized by teachers to beat the high food costs while the union supported shopping trips in nearby towns.

Attempts to reestablish cognitive control and reduce stress was most clearly seen in the organization of formal and informal groups of people with direct cognitive links; that is, people of similar socio-cultural traditions. The teachers, perhaps, were one of the most obvious examples, with their almost exclusive work, residential, and social ties.

Categorization rapidly emerged as different groups attempted to impose their definition of behavior and the



nature of reality on others. Behavior which was often unpredictable and frightening was made more predictable through the use of stereotypic labels. Hostility, another closely associated adaptive strategy was very evident when groups come in contact, and helped to sharpen the stereotypic definitions.

Eurocanadians were aided in their quest for cognitive resynthesis by common language which allowed the communication necessary for social learning and by both the incipient and developed institutional structures available to them. That is, they had areas where they could articulate and deal with problems and they shared collectively an understanding of the uses of such institutional forms. For example, the miners could communicate their distress over particular issues either within the company structure or through the various labor grievances structures. The fact that many of these structures were enmeshed in the general difficulties extant in the town and were often in considerable disarray does not take away from the fact that they could become potentially useful if the individuals in them were able accurately to assess the problems and resolve them.





## CHAPTER VII

### COLLECTIVE RESPONSES TO ADAPTATION

Adaptation to stress can occur at more than one level. For example, when an individual encountering stressors perceives the stressors to affect others in a similar fashion, he may select to combat the stressors in a collective fashion. This chapter is about the efforts of both Eurocanadians and Metis to reduce stress through common action. The primary focus of the discussion, however, will be upon the efforts of the Metis to reduce stress through the formation of a voluntary association.

In Chapter IV the basic characteristics of the indigenous Metis were described. A key feature of this discussion was the fact that collective action was a rare occurrence and only for short duration. The long periods spent in the bush in which the family was the primary social unit did not encourage or necessitate joint ventures of any scope. On some occasions the family unit was joined by one or two related family units for a trapping season. During the summer, families often



camped together or undertook the pilgrimage to Lac Ste. Anne together. The activities, however, did not constitute concerted action of any duration and under any mandate of formal leadership.

If conditions prior to the occurrence of the new town did not encourage collective action, those which followed did. The primary conditions which stimulated the need for collective action was the issue of resettlement. Many of the Metis were descendents of those who had been removed from Jasper National Park at the turn of the century and the memory of that relocation was still fresh in their minds. In fact, some of the original folk who had experienced that resettlement still lived in the area. Thus, the construction of a new town, the myriads of roads, and the coal mine in their midst caused considerable alarm. This alarm was heightened by the lack of preparation they received prior to the onset of construction. There is little evidence for any effort of the provincial government to provide for the needs of the native people in their planning reports.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Provincial Planning Board Report and Recommendation to the Lieutenant Governor in Council for the Status of Grande Cache, Alberta, August, 1966.



### The Issue of Land Tenure

Land tenure for the Grande Cache Metis did not become an issue on the day that construction for the town began. It began with the resettlement of many of the Grande Cache Metis in 1910 when Jasper National Park was formed.

Although land tenure became an important question for many of Alberta's Metis in the thirties and, subsequently, resulted in the formation of ten Metis colonies, the Grande Cache Metis applied for status as a Metis colony but the government denied them that status, suggesting they move to an already established colony (Ketchum, 1971:6).

In the late 1950s and early 1960s land claims were proposed to the government by the Metis settlers of Grande Cache. The government apparently dismissed their proposal with a suggestion that they resettle on one of the already established Metis colonies. With the invasion of mining and construction crews into the area in 1968-1969, negotiations began in earnest (Ketchum 1971:7-9).

In 1970 land tenure proposals were made to representatives of the Department of Lands and Forests by residents from the Settlement of Muskeg. On May 4, the minister responded with an offer of a miscellaneous lease





for residential purposes, plus an abatement of the horse grazing tax for a temporary period. The settlers rejected this lease on the basis that it offered them little security and that it was inadequate for their needs. Only July 20, 1970, upon the promptings of a local Eurocanadian businessman, the settlers requested land tenure for all of the settlements. The amount of land requested was equal to several townships in size. A fact finding team was promptly dispatched by the Department of Lands and Forests to investigate the land tenure situation. The team was composed of two representatives of the Department of Lands and Forests and a representative of the Department of Municipal Affairs. Two Human Resource Officers<sup>2</sup> (HRO) also made the trip. One, a Metis who spoke Cree, interpreted for the investigators.

On September 11, 1970 the investigators report was submitted. The report recommended the following (paraphrased account):

1. Land tenure should be given in the form "title granted free of charge but subject to a sell back agreement".

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<sup>2</sup>One HRO was installed as interpreter and the other as observer. Neither was involved in the writing of their report. The second HRO, however, wrote a memorandum to HRDA taking issue with some of the conclusions reached by the Department of Lands and Forests representative.



2. Land use should be restricted as provided for by Section 19a of the Public Lands Act. Allowable uses include homesites, gardens, and any other legitimate activity or business enterprise which is owned or operated by natives. In addition, compensation as a result of industrial activities should be given.
3. The natives should be exempt from payment of taxes for a period of five years.
4. The HRDA staff should organize the natives to supply free labor for line cutting and general survey work.
5. Horses may be kept but must be reduced to a reasonable number needed for guiding and outfitting. A maximum number required for the guiding industry was to be determined.
6. The land should be held by incorporated associations or cooperatives which should be organized by the HRDA staff.
7. Once areas have been duly incorporated, the natives should be required to live in the designated areas. Resettlement would be allowed only by permission of each group involved. No new settlements would be permitted by outside groups.
8. Several settlements which were judged to be unduly isolated or small were to be resettled to larger settlement areas with a payment of a \$1,000 resettlement fee.
9. Individual allocation of lands should not be made due to the "configuration of settlements and the historical significance of certain areas to the people concerned. Additional areas should be made available if commercial or other enterprises warrant.



10. The operation of guiding, outfitting and trail riding should be encouraged.

Although some of the recommendations were acceptable to the natives, many were not. In January, 1971 the provincial government authorized the Metis to retain a lawyer. The lawyer visited the settlements during January and April of 1971. During those meetings the same Metis staff member acted as interpreter.

#### Socio-Economic Development

Beginning during the summer of 1970, HRDA staff members as well as representatives of the Metis Association met regularly with groups of the Metis settlers to discuss adjustment to their surroundings and the land tenure situation. Moreover, the Metis MRO and the CSD of the new town were active in creating jobs and finding jobs for natives.

As a result of these meetings, in September, 1970 a petition was given to HRDA asking for a literacy training course for adults. The school was subsequently initiated in the winter of 1971 and proceeded until April, 1971.

Although the initial intent of the petitioners was to gain fluency in English, the Alberta Vocational Center





was unable to provide a program which facilitated verbal fluency. Rather, they used Learning 100, a program which promoted literacy through individual use of learning machines.<sup>3</sup>

The program ran into difficulties from the onset. The Canada Manpower Centre office in Grande Prairie reported that they were not permitted to fund literacy programs. Their mandate permitted them only to fund programs which began at the Grade V level. A community official felt that the living allowances paid by the provincial government were insufficient to cover the native students' living costs. So, the official, with the help of a sympathetic AVC representative, created a phony course syllabus to encourage Canada Manpower Centre representatives to sponsor the program. They also used community funds to augment the living allowances paid to students who came under the Alberta Vocational School auspices.

Although a substantial number of native students enrolled in the program, many did not complete it. Some

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<sup>3</sup>The Learning 100 program used by AVC was developed by Education Development Laboratories, Inc. (EDL), a division of McGraw-Hill. As described in their brochure, the program, Learning 100, was a "multimedia, multimodel, multilevel communication skills system designed for use by undereducated adults, out of school youths and potential dropouts". The program was originally developed for urban American youths and initiated unchanged into Alberta Indian communities. An evaluation of the AVC program was prepared for the Community Services Director (Morrison 1971).



complained that the program was too tedious and required too much time inside. Others complained of personal problems such as getting babysitters.<sup>4</sup>

In May of 1971, the native students of the vocational school were suddenly confronted by a group of visiting university students under the stewardship of the CSD. The students had come to Grande Cache to witness "the miracle of the Instant Town", first hand. After touring the mine and the town, they were brought to the school to discuss with the natives the effects the town had had on their lives.

#### The Native Area Development Committee

At first the native students were reticent to discuss their views with the university students. At the encouragement of the CSD, however, they gradually began to relate their fears brought about by the invasion of the Eurocanadians. They emphasized with much vehemance the need to have secure title to their land. When asked how their land negotiations were going, discussion broke down until one of the bolder students angrily said, "Too many

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<sup>4</sup>The general consensus, however, seemed to be that the programs presented by AVC were either not appropriate to them or the teachers in charge of the program did not do well in program delivery. Persistent efforts by the community to obtain programs which stressed an "English as a Second Language" approach fell on deaf ears.



people talk for us and they get it wrong." While others nodded, he went on to explain that a few people could speak English enough to understand the interpretation made by the HRDA Metis interpreter and by other occasional representatives of the Metis Association. They disagreed with his interpretations.

The CSD urged them to articulate their grievances further and when it became obvious that the native spokesman was reporting the feelings of the group, he suggested they do something to change this. After considerable discussion the group decided to call an all-day meeting of the whole community and decide on some course of action. They also decided to not ask any government representative or representatives of the Metis Association. The only outsider invited was this writer, who had no formal association with any of the agencies.

On May 24 the meeting was held. Most of the native community, old and young, were jammed into the vocational school. The matter of land tenure was immediately brought up. Elders discussed the resettlement from Jasper and their desire to be left alone by white men. Others voiced their concerns about the decimation of hunting, the removal of pasturage and topsoil, the killing of horses by trains,







and what they perceived as the general ruin of their lives. Eventually, the topic of present land tenure negotiations was brought up. The discussion frequently focused upon the promises which they felt various government representatives had made to them in the past. It was apparent that there were deep feelings of having been abused and possibly having been resettled from Jasper at the whim of the government. Several speakers spoke out for a need for a tough stand or they would surely be swept away by the white man. Recurrent in the discussion was the phrase, "them guys goin' to take us over if we don't fight." After several hours the emotional pitch in the room had risen considerably. The student who had first voiced the question of proper translation of the proceedings at school again opened the matter. Again heads began to nod in agreement. Several speakers related anecdotes of mistranslation, sometimes to the amusement and sometimes to the outrage of the audience. At last, it was decided to organize to "do our own talkin'". At first it was decided to organize under a Board of Directors format. This writer suggested that they consider a variety of forms and choose the one which they would feel most comfortable with. They finally decided to choose representation



from each settlement to speak for the people of that area. In turn, a secretary, treasurer, vice president, and president were elected for the group from the representatives. The Wanyandie and Joachim settlements along the Smoky were considered as one for organizational purposes.

The election of the Native Area Development Committee, as it later came to be called, represented an important adaptation to the stress experienced by members of the native community. In traditional times, stress was dealt with primarily on an individual or family basis. For the first time members of the community experienced stressors which applied to them all and which had to be dealt with collectively. An indication of the degree of stress present was reflected in the decision to abandon the Metis interpreter who had been performing the roles of both patron and culture broker for them. He had been performing these important roles even before the town arrived. As the HRO, he had worked in the area for several years, helping guides link up hunters, answering correspondence and proffering small laboring jobs. When the town was installed, he continued these duties and extended them to include negotiations with the Board of Administrators about native children's school attendance and negotiations with the mine over the hiring of native workers.



Although a collective decision had been made to take over responsibility for land tenure negotiations, individuals continued to use the Metis HRO in his former roles for other transactions. They also relied on the CSD and others to perform these roles.

Almost from the first, the HRO saw the establishment of the Native Area Development Committee as a ploy of the CSD to undermine his influence in the community. So, he ignored the newly elected Native Area Development Committee and dealt directly with local persons. Moreover, he encouraged the Alberta Metis Association to send a field worker to the community.

The new committee was confronted with a wide field of internal and external problems. Foremost in their sights, of course, was the settlement of the land tenure. One of their first moves was to inform the lawyer, the provincial government and the local Grande Cache Board of Administrators that they were the duly elected representatives of the people. Then they started to deal with immediate local problems.

Horses were connected to a number of their vexing local problems. Department of Lands and Forests, as elsewhere in the foothills, was concerned that the number





of free grazing horses in the area would damage the wildlife habitat. When the Native Area Development Committee announced their formation to the government, they became the focus of the forest rangers' ire. That is, the rangers now held them responsible for the horse problem. The town administration was concerned that the horses were wandering freely across the recently sodded lawns of the town.

The native community resented the interference with their horse herds which they insisted had been little trouble to anyone before all the Eurocanadians moved in. Moreover, they were upset that some of their best horses were being killed on the train tracks, on the roads, and by negligent white hunters. They also resented efforts by the newly formed Grande Cache Saddle Club to offer trail rides to local residents, which they felt was an infringement on their domain.

Other matters of an equal importance commanded their attention. When the new school opened in 1969, Department of Education officials, after an unsatisfactory attempt to meet with local parents, closed the schools in local native communities and bussed the children into town.<sup>5</sup> During the year many of the children returned home in tears or greatly upset about their school experience. The school officials wrote to the Native Area Development Committee to solicit their help in getting better school attendance.

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<sup>5</sup>A representative from the Provincial Department of Education scheduled a meeting with local native parents to discuss the move. Since it occurred when the parents were either away guiding or involved in other bush activities no one came. The Education representative subsequently ordered the closing of community schools based upon parent disinterest.



The residents of the Victor Lake Settlement found themselves confronted with trespassers from the new town. Their cabins were shot at, their pastures were recklessly driven over by cars, trucks and trailbikes. Picnickers regularly left fires burning and scattered debris about them. At Grande Cache Lake, Eurocanadians began to picnic directly in front of a native person's cabin. Moreover, they launched their motor boats from the landing where he collected his drinking water.

These and other incidents posed considerable problems for the fledgeling native organization. The most imposing challenges of all, however, were the role demands placed on the native leaders. None of those selected had any experience in formal Eurocanadian leadership roles and only two spoke English with fluency. Only one could write English. When confronted with a situation in which a direct verbal interchange with Eurocanadian officials was required, the traditional response involved long stares at the floor with equivocal or evasive answers. Conditions in the new town, however, demanded that they be able to deal with Eurocanadians on their own terms. With considerable courage and a sort of grim resolve, they solicited training and encouragement from the CSD and other resource people. During



the ensuing years, several of the members as well as others who were elected later, gradually developed some confidence in their abilities to interact with Eurocanadians.

As a result of their negotiations with local officials considerable rapport began to develop between the Native Area Development Committee and local Eurocanadian officials. Some of the land under tenure negotiation appeared to be suitable for recreational purposes. The flats below the town, near Victor Lake, seemed to be a fine location for a golf course. When Eurocanadians inquired about the possible recreational development of the land, they were informed that the land was under tenure negotiations and that when it was finished and development undertaken they would be invited to participate. The message that the natives intended to develop their land and that they intended to do so in concert with the Eurocanadian community gradually became both an important article of faith in their relations as well as a later source of disillusionment for both parties.

During the first year a considerable amount of time was spent in legitimizing the Native Area Development Committee both locally and to the provincial government. Locally, the committee met regularly with officials to





solve the various problems concerned with the school, horses, and trespassers. They also spoke publicly of their plans to parent-teacher groups, the local newspaper, and the Chamber of Commerce.

In August of 1971, as the land tenure negotiation seemed to be making some progress, a provincial election was called and the government changed. Considerable effort following the election was spent trying to gain the support of the new government. The theme undertaken was that Grande Cache was a unique situation in which the industrious natives were working hand in hand with the Eurocanadians to develop the area, that their industriousness was demonstrated by the high rates of employment. Therefore, if provincial funds were provided for native development, these developments would benefit not only the Indians but the whole community as well.

On behalf of themselves and the natives the same approach was echoed by town groups such as the Council and the Chamber of Commerce.

Although their image abroad (with the government) strengthened during 1971-1972, the Native Area Development Committee was beset by both internal and local community problems. Following their election, with the support of



three advisors, their progress had been swift. They had resolved, at least for awhile, the horse and trespass problems and secured considerable local Eurocanadian support. But the quiet struggle between the "helpers" continued. While the CSD fought to strengthen the committee, the HRO, who had served as interpreter and a Metis Association field worker, sought to re-establish support for the Metis Association. He did this by going directly to local native households to provide services and goods from the Metis Association. The CSD, on the other hand, worked to obtain and channel funding through the Native Area Development Committee.

By the end of August, 1972, two of the three advisors to the committee had left. One, an HRO from Edmonton, had only been on temporary assignment in the area and returned to his normal duties in Edmonton. The other, this writer, moved 90 miles south and began analysis on his research material of the New Town. By this time, a new Metis Association field worker had come to Grande Cache and settled with his family in a large government house. Feeling perhaps that the battle was now over, the Metis interpreter from HRDA focused his efforts on other communities, leaving only the Metis Association worker and the CSD in Grande Cache.



During the fall of 1971 the CSD limited his support of the Committee to formal requests for assistance from them and individual assistance to native residents. Believing that the Metis representative would eventually fail and not wanting to be credited with the blame, he made a point of aligning himself with the field worker. He helped him obtain suitable office space, secretarial help and generally supported him.

The Metis Association field worker, for his part, focused a considerable amount of his attention on gaining support with the local government group and limited his activities in the native community to giving rides to older people who came to town for groceries and acting as interpreter. By mid-year he had lost most of his credibility with both the Eurocanadian and the native community. Some of the native people described him as "he makes lots of money to do nothing but bullshit". Even the former HRDA interpreter became alarmed at his antics and succeeded in gaining his removal by the spring of 1972. This worked much to the advantage of the CSD, who had managed to maintain his position as the dominant patron of the Indians while the Metis Association had been discredited as a "do-nothing outfit."





During this period little had occurred vis a vis the settlement of the land tenure question. Moreover, the strong support and encouragement the committee had received during the summer faded when this writer and the HRDA representative left in the fall. Consequently, morale of the committee reached an all-time low by mid-winter. Committee meetings were infrequent and there was a growing feeling of despair and frustration among committee members. They felt helpless either to accelerate the land tenure negotiations or to initiate programs of local development.

In February of 1972, the CSD wrote to both this writer and the Edmonton-based HRDA representative requesting them to work with the Committee again on a monthly basis. Regular meetings of the committee were re-established and plans began anew to start activities and to expedite the land tenure negotiation.

At the request of the Committee, training sessions on management, administration, and development planning were reinstituted. Appeals to the government for long term development funding began anew. In April of 1972, the executive assistant of the Minister of Northern Development visited the community to discuss land tenure and development. During the meetings which followed he restated the government's faith in "this fine example of responsible local government"



and pledged the government's full support for their activities. He requested that the Committee get busy and provide the government with a concrete development scheme. When it was pointed out to him that the government had received a development plan prepared by the HRDA officer and this writer the previous fall, he stated that although the minister agreed wholeheartedly with the scheme, he needed a fiscal report to show the hard-headed businessmen of the cabinet, not a philosophical treatise on development. He also suggested that settlement of the land tenure was imminent. The Committee agreed to submit the proposal but pointed out that their community was dismayed at the government's reluctance to support a group who consistently and patiently acted in a responsible manner. They pointed out as well that they had set a June deadline for settlement of the land tenure question and they intended to take the land tenure question to court should the government continue to drag its feet.

In June the first development proposal reached the government. It stated that guiding and outfitting had been a key industry in the area and that they needed funds to clear and seed areas of their land for horse pasture as a first step toward rebuilding the guiding industry. The



Committee's proposal was rejected on the basis that the native land areas were insufficient for a cattle industry. The Committee angrily responded that they were not interested in a cattle industry at this time, although at a future date, if feasibility studies demonstrated its viability, they might consider it. The executive assistant then responded that they must submit their proposals to the Cooperatives Branch for funding since that was the only agency of the government which could currently fund or sponsor Indian development. The Committee responded with considerable consternation since they felt that such a move would undermine their group as well as go against the interests of the community. The executive assistant then promised that if they would go through the motions of submitting a proposal to the Cooperatives Branch, they could use the money anyway they saw fit. After considerable local debate the Committee decided to rewrite and submit their proposals to the Cooperatives Branch. The executive assistant promised personally to insure that their application was speedily processed. Sometime later the executive assistant informed the Committee that they were ineligible for a Cooperatives Branch loan until the cooperatives in the area had been duly constituted by a member of the Branch





and until a suitable agricultural study had been done. By this time, the frustration of the Committee had reached considerable proportions. They pointed out that most of their people could not read or write and were unable to manage a cooperative even if they desired one, which they most certainly did not.

While the debate over funding raged, the government continued to assure the community that the land tenure would be speedily approved.

Meanwhile, the Department of Lands and Forests had renewed their efforts to curtail the horse herds. Several native guides who tried to break into the outfitting business discovered that they could either not handle the complex management problems brought on by the new conditions of the town or that most of their good horses had been killed on the train tracks or the roads. To compound these problems, the school authorities were threatening to send the RCMP to bring children from the outlying areas to school if they parents were not more cooperative. About the same time native workers were beginning to miss work and were beginning to gain a reputation as unreliable employees. Moreover, a number of native men who wished to begin development of tourist facilities found that they



were blocked because of the stalemate in land tenure negotiations and because there appeared to be no funding for development.

In September of 1972, this writer agreed, at the request of the Committee, to work for them as a full-time development consultant. The government indicated verbally that development funding must necessarily accompany land tenure. Although development money per se still had not been given by the government, the land tenure negotiations appeared to be settled. Each settlement group had agreed to the terms of settlement, except Grande Cache Lake. The issue at Grande Cache Lake revolved around whether or not there was adequate waterfront land available for resort development. During the previous summer, when Eurocanadians had insisted upon picnicking in the front yard of one of the native residents, a conflict had developed between the two groups. Disgusted at what he considered arrogant trespassing, the native person put a cable across his road and charged the Eurocanadians to use the area. Some of them reacted angrily, with threats against the native person. He responded in kind and suggested that they contact the group's lawyer if they doubted his right to close off the land. The Eurocanadians then formed the



Grande Cache Water Ski Club and petitioned the government for access rights to the lake.

To insure that the final land settlement included the correct land areas, the Committee hired a resort consulting firm to do a feasibility study for the area.<sup>6</sup> The study confirmed that the present area offered by the government was inadequate for resort development. The MLA for Grande Cache and the Minister for Northern Development were consulted for their assistance. They agreed to support the change in boundaries so long as the town council and the Chamber of Commerce supported the move. Letters of support were forwarded to the ministers from both Grande Cache groups.

In early fall, a potential confrontation developed at the school between native residents from several settlements and the school authorities. The school authorities, working through the former Metis Association official, had tried unsuccessfully to insure school attendance on the part of native children. At last, the superintendent of the school threatened to send the RCMP after the children if parents did not send the children to

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<sup>6</sup> Grande Cache Native Area Committee Hospitality Services Report, Muskeg and Grande Cache Lake, May, 1973, Hospitality System Research Ltd.





school. Negotiations between the parents and the school were mediated by the Committee's consultant. The parents feared that the Eurocanadian environment of the school would be too hard on their children. Many of the children could speak little or no English and were not comfortable around Eurocanadians. Moreover, the parents were worried about the children getting into trouble in town. They also feared that the long bus ride back and forth from school would prove dangerous during the months of bad weather since the bus used by the school was old and subject to frequent breakdowns.

To counteract these fears, the school agreed to hire a special teacher who could help the native children adjust to the school, to use a native woman as a teacher's aide, and to buy a new school bus. The parents, for their part, agreed to risk sending their children to school. The native children's classroom became a success due primarily to the conscientious and skillful efforts of the teacher, who not only strove to understand and cope with each of the children in their struggle with the school environment,<sup>7</sup> but who also ventured into the native community to meet and know the native parents. During the 1973 assessment of the Grande Cache school system, this classroom was one of the

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<sup>7</sup>The school authorities viewed the special class as a remedial language class, ignoring the teacher's struggles to develop native curriculum and to involve elders and parents in the classroom as a means of supporting the children's identity problems. They frequently, against the teacher's objections, shuttled Korean, Japanese and other children into the class to help them gain fluency in English. They also tried to push native children into the regular system as soon as they gained any ability in English, ignoring the other psychological benefits of the class, despite workshops on Indian Education arranged by the CBD.



two which received praise from the Department of Education evaluators.

During the early fall of 1972, a showdown with the Minister of Northern Development occurred. The development consultant of the Native Area Development Committee collected all of the correspondence from the minister which continually promised support and clipped it to a letter requesting clarification of why the support had not materialized. The original letter was sent to the minister. Unbeknownst to anyone, the CSD sent a copy to the Premier. Within a short time, the minister's executive assistant announced that \$20,000 was given to the Committee for "seed" money. He said that this was to be temporary until more suitable long term funding could be obtained.

During the late fall, the Committee continued its development planning while waiting for word that the land tenure had been finished. The Committee proposed to the town council and the Chamber of Commerce that they join them in conducting a general tourism study of the area. The Committee suggested that such a study could provide a blueprint for tourist development in the whole community. A joint proposal was made to the Minister of Northern Development and the local MLA who was also Minister of



Tourism. The Native Area Development Committee actively lobbied for studies funding under their auspices. In January, the MLA announced that the study would be jointly funded by his department and the Department of Northern Development. Before the study could begin, however, the mine announced that it was going to lay off approximately 160 miners and close down No. 5 mine. Everyone was taken by surprise, including the government. In the turmoil which followed, the MLA reported that they had decided to delay funding the study for political reasons. In 1973 a Public Commission under the direction of Mr. N. R. Crump was formed to investigate the layoff as well as general conditions at Grande Cache.

In the spring of 1973, the executive assistant of the Minister of Northern Development again called the Committee and requested that the support letters for the land switch at Grande Cache Lake be sent immediately. The Committee pointed out that the letters had been personally delivered at his office. But, they agreed to request that additional copies be sent by the town council and the Chamber of Commerce.

During the Crump Commission hearings many of the local groups who presented briefs informally announced







their support for the native community. The native community was also presenting a brief which was so well received that the Chief Commissioner requested that the Committee meet with him privately for supper to discuss their plans more fully. During that meeting, Mr. Crump expressed amazement when the Committee related their difficulties in securing adequate funding. He considered their development plans fundamentally sound and the Committee's accomplishments worthy of government trust.

With the awarding of the first "seed" money, the Committee, upon the recommendation of the consultant, took over full responsibility for their own development. Accounts and management activities which had been formerly handled by the CSD were taken over by their administration. As part of the move to local autonomy, the Committee was fortunate to secure a very dedicated and highly skilled individual to assist them in their administration, and to continue as the continue as their advisor for development. It was planned that this writer would relinquish his full-time position in favor of a part-time position until there was no need for his services. Weekend visits continued for three months. The Committee requested additional funding to allow the consultant to write up, on a full-time basis,



a master plan integrating their development plans with fiscal and planning realities. An official in the Department of Northern Development approved the recommendation and this writer set off for Grande Cache a day later. Sometime during the trip the same official called Grande Cache indicating that the request was denied because the native community would receive their own funding and could hire their own consultants directly. This writer was informed a year later, through the government grapevine, that he had been rocking the boat and was considered a "political subversive."

The implication of the funding switch is pointed out on page 311. It should be noted that the initial idea of a "master plan" was supported by several ministers in order to justify in "hard-headed" financial terms, the expenditures of funds for natives. The failure to provide funding for such a venture thereby destroyed the natives' opportunity to convince, on other than moral grounds, the government of their worthiness for financial support.

Although the final settlement of the land had not been completed by the spring of 1973, through the efforts of Mr. Crump, the tourist study finally became a reality. The MLA and the Minister of Northern Development continued verbally to support long term socio-economic support and development but they were unable to provide money. Believing



that large scale funding would eventually come about, the Committee's new administrator agreed to work for half-time wages so that the maximum amount of the "seed" money grant could be put into community projects.

On September 11, 1973 the Crump Commission report was released. The Commission report strongly supported the efforts of the Native Area Development Committee and recommended continuous development funding for a period of five years. Despite the added support from the Crump Commission, the government was reluctant to commit themselves to continuous funding for any period over a year. Moreover, they discontinued their payment of outside staff or consultants, suggesting that it would be a good experience for the committee to pay directly their own staff and administrative expenses. The funds allotted in succeeding years were appropriated for administration costs leaving little money for "action" projects in the community. The government argued that to change the year by year funding as recommended in the Crump Report or even to provide sufficient funds for development on a yearly basis would be unfair to other native organizations. Thus, they set what had been an initial grant to "get things started" as a budget figure upon which increases or decreases should be calculated. Instead of considering increases in budget





on justification bases, they used a 'core funding' concept. That is, they based increases of funding upon the 'core' operational expenses of office rent, secretarial and administrative costs. Funds for development were to be submitted on a project by project basis, thus obviating any opportunity for long term development.<sup>8</sup> To make matters worse, the government ignored development funding of any substance, even when submitted on a project by project basis. Moreover, they were unable to meet seasonal deadlines. Thus, the Committee clearly recognized that winter was the time to conceptualize plans while summer was the time to implement them. With this in mind, they requested funding in the winter but often received neither funding nor answers to funding until the fall. Their frustration over such occurrences was considerable.

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<sup>8</sup>Under the first arrangement with the Committee, the government paid all outside services. When the Committee decided to take over management of the funds, the government urged the Committee to also take over advisory, administration, and other planning costs, the assumption being that such costs would be budgeted for. However, when the transition was made, fixed funds were provided regardless of budget justification, thereby leaving the Committee with the dilemma of funding development and ceasing its operations of continuing administration and ceasing funding of basic development. Moreover, when they ceased paying costs for outside personnel, it meant that the administrator had to take up the slack by putting in more time per week for which there were no provisions in the budget. This placed additional pressure on the operational costs of the budget rather than upon development.



The government consistently ignored well developed local plans in favor of not so well developed centrally conceived plans. When, in 1972, the Committee responded to a constant request for better housing for their people, the government informed them that they had already solved the housing problem on a provincial basis and that the community would have its housing needs taken care of in several months. The Committee plan involved approximately \$12,000 per year for several years, established building specifications which guaranteed the construction of solidly built houses. Their program specified that the persons requiring the home supply logs for the house and a sound estimate of the costs of the materials. The Committee would then assist the homeowner in transporting the house logs and securing additional building materials. The government's program required the construction of large, fully serviced dwellings which met urban building requirements and which obligated the homeowner to a substantial mortgage. The native people, for the most part, rejected the program. Several people did, however, apply. According to local sources, the one who received notification of approval was a sixty - five - year old alcoholic who was living on a pension and who had neither the need



for the house nor the means for repayment of the mortgage.

While limiting actual development funds, the government continued to encourage the Committee to think in terms of large scale funding. In November, 1974 a group of cabinet officials flew to Grande Cache to meet with town leaders to review the findings of the Crump Commission. In the preparations for that meeting, the provincial government representative did not invite the representatives of the native community. They were not invited until local authorities notified them of the meeting and suggested they attend. When the meeting was underway neither the Minister of Northern Development nor their MLA allotted any time to meet with the native community to discuss their reactions to the Crump Report. Rather, in the opening address they recognized the native leaders' presence with considerable enthusiasm, although they did not bother to check on their names, greeting them with the wrong names. Lip service was paid to the outstanding quality of the native leadership and the solid commitment of the government to their development. The ministers departed, following a luncheon and their announcement of substantial financial aid to the new town.





In the spring of 1974, the executive assistant of the Minister of Northern Development called to enquire as to why the Committee had not supplied the supporting documents for the Grande Cache land tenure issue. For the second time, he was informed that the documents had been delivered. The Committee then secured another set and forwarded them to him.

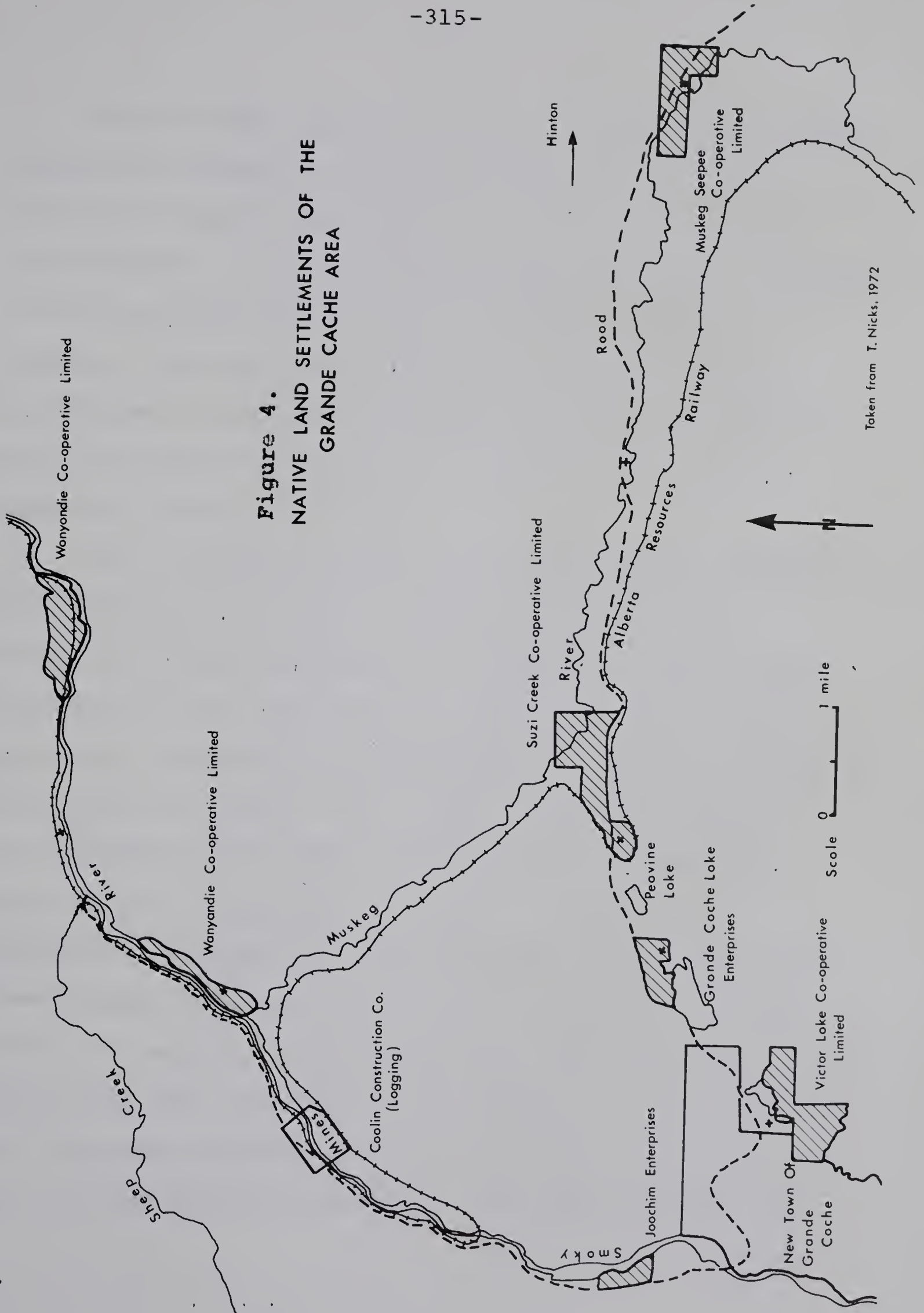
About the same time, the Committee became very disturbed about the increased alcoholism and work absenteeism in the community. By the end of July, funding had been obtained from the Provincial Department of Manpower and Labour to conduct a study of labor difficulties (Morrison, 1975).

The final land tenure ceremonies were held January 6, 1975. Although early negotiations included plans for a major ceremony, ministers of the crown advised they would like to hand this title over while they were touring the strip mine area and surveying land destruction which had been covered in the Edmonton Journal. At the insistence of the Native Area Development Committee a ceremony was planned.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> The government discouraged the attendance of the press at the ceremonies, saying that they would be making a press release. A small article appeared in the Edmonton Journal several weeks later.





**Figure 4.**  
**NATIVE LAND SETTLEMENTS OF THE**  
**GRANDE CACHE AREA**

Taken from T. Nicks, 1972



Both the MLA and the Minister of Northern Development attended the ceremony. They were accompanied by the Lieutenant Governor and various lower level government functionaries. Although several classes of school children and various Eurocandians came to witness the historic occasion, there were only about twenty native people in the audience. One might conclude that after six years of disillusionment, the ceremonies apparently held little appeal for them.

At its onset the Native Area Development Committee held the promise of significantly reducing the most prominent stressors affecting the community. Their plans entailed both the resolution of immediate problems such as horses trespassing on Eurocanadian lawns to Eurocanadians trespassing on Indian lands. They attempted to develop and implement plans which would supply a framework for socio-economic adaptation over time. Indeed, the government encouraged such an exercise, while at the same time denying them the means to do so. Moreover, through their own bungling, they delayed the final settlement of the land tenure for two years. As a result, both the Committee and the administration were in a position to take the brunt of criticism from the community. The Metis trappers and





hunters blamed the administrator and the Committee for their inability to produce tangible results.

The inability of the Committee to perform its patron function also increasingly jeopardized relations with the larger community. When the Committee was first elected, their hard work on behalf of the native community, as well as their development policies, seemed to win them considerable respect from the Eurocanadians. But, as time passed without either settlement to the land tenure nor an initiation of significant development schemes, the Committee lost its credibility. Like the people of the native community, the Eurocanadians knew that the Committee was receiving government funding, they were aware of the administrative apparatus which had been set up, yet they could see few concrete achievements. The increase in alcoholism and worker absenteeism in the larger native communities did nothing to increase the Eurocanadian confidence in the natives' ability to work as partners in economic development.

#### Collective Adaptation to Stress: New Town Examples

As the threat of resettlement prompted the native people to form a collective to combat their stress, economic and personal safety hazards were perceived as important stressors for the miners and merchants.



The formation of unions and Chambers of Commerce are not unique to new towns; rather they are present in many Canadian cities and are recognized as associations for the articulation of particular interests. What was important in particular about these organizations was the content of their activities, the concerns which motivated their members.

In the testimony of the miners at the Crump Commission hearings (see Chapter VI), three themes were present, the disillusionment about working and living conditions found in Grande Cache, safety hazards, and a concern for future economic prospects of the town. Miners came to Grande Cache expecting a fully built town, good economic prospects and a well organized, modern mine. Instead, they found a new town under construction, with its associated dilemmas, prices which they felt were exorbitant and severe working dilemmas. The union was a traditional means for arbitrating working conditions. It became involved in trying to solve the other problems as well. When, in 1971, the women protested the high prices in Grande Cache, the union publically supported their grievances. Union members carried placards on the picket lines as well as making their position public in the newspaper. Moreover, the union arranged bus service for families wishing to shop in Hinton.



The dilemmas posed by differences in social and ethnic backgrounds in the mine were in some ways mediated by the stressors miners experienced as a result of what they perceived as callous and abusive treatment by the mine management. Safety was and is an important stressor experienced by miners. So far, fifteen union members have died, equal to one every six months. Added to this were the financial burdens of resettlement. Miners who made between \$3.02 and \$3.80 an hour in 1969 felt that they simply could not make ends meet. The lay off in 1973, which prompted the Crump Commission inquiry, further strengthened their fears of financial insecurity. Further, union members reported that the men were afraid to protest conditions. They felt that miners who complained, particularly the union executive, were subject to instant dismissal by the mine. In such cases, they were subject to loss of their houses and pay until the issue reached arbitration. The families of miners who were killed were reported to have six weeks to move out of their houses. Although they reported that the mine had been fair in such cases, they felt that they had no guarantee of fairness. It exists at the benevolence of the company. Miners, who for one reason or another left McIntyre had to leave their homes with





little opportunity available for alternative housing in the town. There were reports that McIntyre employees who had sought to secure employment with other companies in the area (McIntyre subcontractors) had been denied permission to enter the work site by McIntyre. Thus, although McIntyre had a hands off policy vis a vis the town, in the absence of alternative economic opportunities and accommodations, the mine, in effect, was and continues to be a powerful influence on the lives of the men and their families. The union stood as the key organization to protect miners against those potential threats, even if they could not reduce stress by providing alternate accommodation and industry. The latter responsibility rested solely with the provincial government, who, despite the pleas of the union and other concerned citizen groups such as the Chamber of Commerce and the recommendation of the Crump Commission, has failed to assume that responsibility.

Although the merchants did not share with the union the concerns for the safety and health of its members, they shared in the union members' concern for a stable economy. Most of the merchants reported that they came to Grande Cache to better themselves. They provided various reports of disillusionment which ranged from a



guarantee of an optimum population size, thus insuring in their minds an adequate return for their investment, to promises about a lack of competition for the first two years.

Most of the merchants staked their personal investments on the future of the town. The disagreement between various sectors of the merchant group over financial promises they felt the planners had made to them seemed to assume a lesser role as stressors than the rise and fall of McIntyre fortunes and what they felt was the government's failure to support the economic growth of the town. When the population of the town began to stabilize at 3,500 in 1972, rather than 5,000, the projected figure, and when rumors that McIntyre was in grave financial trouble began to circulate around the town, many of the merchants experienced severe stress. The arrival of two chain stores during this period only added to their stress. Most of the merchants talked gloomily about trying to wait things out until either McIntyre's fortunes improved or "the government stepped in to keep the whole damned place from going down the drain". Some of the smaller merchants began to take on part-time jobs to help ends meet. Some went out



of business altogether. The activities of the Chamber of Commerce, however, took on a more serious tone as merchants sought to use the group as a lobbying vehicle to persuade the government to develop other industries in the area and to link Grande Cache with other population centers by road.<sup>10</sup>

In this light, it becomes apparent why the overtures of the Native Area Development Committee to cooperate with the Chamber of Commerce in the economic development of the area had such a strong appeal. Not only were the native residents regarded by the merchants as some of their best customers, but they potentially held access to further economic development of the area which merchants desperately needed. The economic stressors which the merchants experienced helped to coalesce the various factions within the merchant group by virtue of a common stressor, although this stressor served to further sharpen the antagonism which already existed between miners and themselves and potentially could serve as a point of integration between

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<sup>10</sup>Chamber of Commerce brief to the Crump Commission lists a variety of alternative economic activities for the area as part of its strong plea for government assistance on economic development. The construction of a good, paved, all weather road between Grande Prairie to the north and Hinton to the south has been a major priority almost from the first.





the natives and a sector of the new towners.<sup>11</sup> The subsequent failure of the natives (as mentioned in Chapter V) to participate in economic development activities has seriously jeopardized their chances of having any but marginal participation in the new town.

Other voluntary associations and institutions also tended to break down the particularistic tendencies of the "familiarity" groups, characteristic of the early stages of adaptation. Churches, Home and School Associations, the Fish and Game Association, all brought people together for however brief a time, from diverse backgrounds. It may be concluded that none of these groups possessed the cohesive effect of the Native Area Development Committee, the union, and the Chamber of Commerce, simply by virtue of the intensity of the stressors which they sought to combat. The success of such groups naturally influenced the ability of the members of the town to deal with their own individual stress.

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<sup>11</sup>From the first, the Chamber of Commerce sought to involve native leaders as members in Chamber activities. That the natives did not become involved reflects more on their reluctance to engage in the complexities of Eurocanadian associations than the Chamber's attitude towards them.



## Summary

The Metis of Grande Cache had little experience with long term corporate activities prior to the construction of the new town. Fearing they would be dispossessed of their lands, members of the community sought assistance from various patrons to secure the services of a lawyer to protect their land rights. In 1972 various Metis became dissatisfied with some of the patrons who continued to have a large role in the land tenure issue negotiations, feeling that they misrepresented their case to the lawyers. In an essentially bold and unprecedented move, they elected people from each of the settlement areas to represent their interests during meetings with the lawyer and the government. This committee was also charged with resolving a variety of vexing problems which had arisen as a result of white settlement in the area.

Most of the members of the committee could neither read nor write English. Moreover, they had, in a Eurocanadian sense, no clear mandate to speak for the community, only to represent the various viewpoints. Yet, ironically, they were seen by whites as having the same authority as that vested in a municipal government. On the other hand, they were seen by many members of their own community as new patrons, with the ability to procure favors from the Eurocanadian society.



Nevertheless, they worked with great resolve and courage to deal with all of these difficulties. At the local level they successfully secured the confidence and cooperation of white leaders, firmly resolving pressing problems of mutual concern as well as enlisting local white support for their land tenure proposal and development schemes. They created a program of socio-economic development, which insured the integrity and self-reliance of their own community at one level, yet linking their development to the general growth of the town at another level.

The provincial government during the course of the land tenure negotiation both privately and publically assured the group that they would support their plans for social and economic change. They concurred with the white consultants that Grande Cache was an ideal spot to test certain models of native development which might have wider applicability in northern Alberta, if industry expanded in the area. But, in fact, they provided only enough support for token projects. Their verbal encouragement, on the one hand, coupled with their bungling of the land tenure negotiations and token support of development, on the other hand, effectively sabotaged the Metis' efforts to establish a viable position in the New Town. Indeed, it contributed to undermining local morale in the Metis community and undermined the position of respect and cooperation which the Metis leaders had established with the white community. Eventually,





because of lack of support, the land tenure issue and the Native Area Development Committee became stressors in their own right contributing significantly to the demoralization of the community. When, over a period of years, it became apparent that the Metis leaders were, in fact, unable to garner government assistance, their position as equal economic partners with town developers slipped. Increasingly, they were viewed with the same condescension Albertans direct toward natives in other towns.

A significant difference between the Native Area Development Committee, the union, and the Chamber of Commerce was that the latter organizations were both connected to national organizations which extended beyond the local area. Thus they had effective lobbying powers which, at the national and provincial levels, the Metis did not have. The Alberta Metis Association, although having long established links in the area, was almost totally ineffective. It not only had little local support but it was one of the patrons which was discarded when the committee was formed. Nevertheless, their representatives continued to try to re-establish support whenever possible at the expense of the Native Area Development Committee. Their efforts, both locally and provincially, were contributing to the deterioration of the Metis cause.



## CONCLUSION

Canadian industrial new towns have traditionally had a number of features in common. These have often been built in isolated areas wherever resource development has taken place. The employees have frequently been from diverse backgrounds, appearing together as strangers following town construction. New towns are often characterized as having a particularly unstable population; that is, the town population is characterized by high mobility.

In the past and, to some extent, today, many new towns were company towns; that is, the company built and managed the towns. Under the Alberta New Towns Act, new town management and planning comes under the jurisdiction of the Provincial Department of Municipal Affairs. New towns in Alberta only assume full municipal status when they can assume full municipal status and when they can assume the financial burden associated with such status.

As part of an overall plan for the economic development of northern Alberta, the provincial government in 1965 announced that a railway through the Grande Cache area would be built to link the coal fields of Grande Cache with the rich agricultural regions of northwestern Alberta. The construction of the mine and townsite began in 1968. Ap-



parently little consideration was paid to the rights and needs of the Metis who inhabited the remote area. Although the Canadian National Railroad compensated Metis when their horses were killed on the tracks, they paid little notice to the land rights of the native people.

In a similar fashion the provincial government ignored the rights of the Metis when they planned for the industrialization and settlement of the Grande Cache area. Apparently there was also little concern on government's part for the possible impact such developments might have upon the social and economic systems of the Metis, although their planning maps indicate an awareness of native settlements in the area.<sup>1</sup>

The government was, however, aware of the difficulty keeping a stable work force in new towns and sought to reduce labour turnover by providing an attractive physical amenities. In collaboration with the company, they planned for carefully designed sub-divisions, schools, hospitals, and a shopping center. The townsite was laid out thirteen miles from the mine in order to preserve the pristine quality of the town. Yet, they neglected to provide services for mothers with young children, to design accessible parks, to provide

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<sup>1</sup>1966 Report and Recommendations to the Lieutenant Governor in Council for New Town Status of Grande Cache, Alberta (memo).





transportation to and from the town so that residents could more easily deal with the isolation. They neglected to modify government services and institutions in order to effectively deal with problems of adjustment so characteristic of these communities. In essence, on a broad scale, they failed to consider as important the social realities and problems of psychological adjustment inherent in a new town, assuming, perhaps, that good pay, a new house and freedom from coal dust were the main requisites to make Grande Cache a satisfying place to live.

During the first year and to a considerable extent later, the town was characterized by conflict, confusion, anxiety, and high population mobility. Miners were recruited from diverse ethnic, regional, and national backgrounds. The recruiters painted a rosy and unreal picture of life in Grande Cache. Those who came first did not find the idyllic new town they had been shown pictures of, but rather a partially finished village, complete with noise, rubble, and unfulfilled promises. This chaotic environment seemed to affect most of the community, from management to miner; from school teacher to businessman.

Not only did the conditions affect larger numbers of people, they influenced many dimensions of experience. Social relations were characterized by conflict and role ambiguity.



People disagreed about fundamental cultural values relating to work, education, and a variety of other things. Many people seemed upset by the changes in their biophysical environment as well. Exceptions were few, such as several on the town staff who had worked in other Alberta new towns. They were, on the whole, unsympathetic to those who suffered as a result of their relocation to the town. They felt that the residents should be grateful for the amenities provided. Their apparent callousness may be partially due to the fact they were stuck with administering a system which did not provide for the sorts of adjustments required in a new town.

The residents of the new town experienced stress as a result of suddenly finding themselves in a dramatically altered social, cultural, and bio-physical environment. The phenomenon, however, was not limited simply to those Euro-canadians suddenly transplanted to Grande Cache. It seemed to also affect the Metis who just as dramatically found their environment altered. They, too, found themselves thrust into a confusing socio-cultural milieu while witnessing their bio-physical environment undergo drastic changes as a result of industrial and urban processes. They, too, experienced a type of stress known as culture shock.

Culture shock occurs when individuals realize that



their ways of coping, their knowledge of the whys and wherefores of their environment, are no longer appropriate. The behavior of other people becomes largely unpredictable. Such circumstances seem to induce a range of feelings varying from discomfort to immobilizing anxiety depending upon the personal resources of the individual and the extent of the cognitive disorganization experienced. The dissonance experienced as a result of inappropriate cultural knowledge motivates the individual to develop a series of coping patterns in an effort to re-establish systemic equilibrium. An obvious way of resolving the issue is to withdraw to a familiar environment, where the behavior of others and the bio-physical environment are known. Travellers in foreign countries sometimes return home with unexpected swiftness upon encountering culture shock. Governments and companies who need to maintain skilled staff abroad frequently construct residential enclaves to shield staff from the effects of culture shock. Efforts to deal directly with culture shock are evidenced in the training programs of Peace Corps volunteers in which considerable time is spent in preparing volunteers for the learning required in cognitive resynthesis.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> This writer personally underwent such training and preparation in 1963 as a member of the Peace Corps contingent which was later sent to Nepal. The training openly dealt with the phenomenon of culture shock, and the process of adaptation. It provided fundamental knowledge of social, cultural, and bio-physical conditions in Nepal as well as comprehensive language training. Further orientation occurred in Nepal. Most volunteers experienced cognitive resynthesis to such an extent that they re-encountered culture shock on their return to their own country. A number of scholars have studied the re-entry problems of Peace Corps Volunteers and others. (Torre 1963) (Gullahorn and Gullahorn 1963).







Culture shock is a form of stress. Hans Silye (1950) has described stress as a nonspecific response to a demand made upon the body. Adaptation is required irrespective of what the demand may be. If the demand is severe and the organism is unable to formulate an adequate response, death may result. Silye was explicit in pointing out that stress is not necessarily negative. In fact, it is a part of the organism's normal growth and functioning. However, many writers have uncritically used the term only to apply to what Silye would call distress, without making any sort of distinction between negative stress and other forms of stress, such as rapture, etc. In this discussion, a distinction has been made between types of stress such as joy, love, and rapture and negative stress or distress. It is the distress of culture shock that is most characteristic of the first years in the new town.

The argument so far has asserted that culture shock, a form of stress, was a prevalent experience in Grande Cache. But what is the evidence for such an assertion? How can one assume that a phenomenon entertained by visitors to foreign countries is relevant to life in a Canadian new town? The answer to such questions lies in the awareness of the extent to which people depend upon their cultural knowledge to negotiate their bio-physical, social, and cultural environment. When that knowledge is inappropriate, they lose, to



varying degrees, the ability to negotiate that sector of their environment which is affected and so experience stress or disorientation. It does not matter where the conditions which create the disorganization are located geographically.

Earlier in the discussion, it was mentioned that many new town residents came to the town with expectations which differed from the reality then found. Moreover, the conditions in the town were often confusing since the town was in the process of construction and administrative structures were not well adapted. Those who came brought with them diverse expectations for behavior and spoke a variety of English dialects, as well as other languages. To contribute further to the situation, the isolated mountain habitat was difficult for some to adjust to. The Metis not only witnessed their environment changed by strangers whose customs they barely understood, but they perceived their socio-economic base ruined by the same group. Moreover, many of them were unable to communicate with the Eurocanadians since few of them spoke English.

Additional evidence for the existence of culture shock may be seen in the behavior adopted by both new town residents and Metis. In the midst of the ambiguous sets of social relations both Metis and Eurocanadians developed primary relations with those from similar socio-cultural tradition, forming both formal and informal associations.



People were soon sorted into categories on the basis of stereotypic characteristics. Two of the major categories involved were the Nova Scotians and the British miners. In a primary step toward making behavior again predictable, the labels applied to these groups were used throughout the town. Hostility toward groups in the environment, another characteristic of the adaptive process, was widespread. Businessmen blamed miners, miners blamed businessmen, miners quarrelled with management. The businessmen expressed hostility toward the government or the town administration. The teachers expressed hostility toward the town administration and the parents of their students. Everyone seemed to need a culprit or culprits.

These characteristics, taken by themselves or in various combinations, are certainly prevalent in many forms of human settlement. What gives them significance as evidence for culture shock and as examples of adaptive measures is their occurrence in relation to the other conditions in the town; that is the prerequisite condition for culture shock. It should be also noted that these were precisely the characteristics which Oberg described as reactions to culture shock. Moreover, the events began to transpire almost immediately upon the formation of the town. For example, the hostility which pervaded the town was not the





result of long term feuds between various interest groups, nor did it merely reflect differences in class interests or between workers and management. It was comprehensive and multidimensional. For example, miners feuded with each other as well as management. On various issues, they opposed the school board, the businessmen and the Metis. There was, in other words, a fluid expression of hostility in many directions and concerning a variety of issues. The same can be said to varying degrees of other groups in the town.

Additional support for the notion that people in Grande Cache shared some sort of comprehensive emotional trauma came from a report submitted to the town council by consulting psychologist, Glenn Hundleby (1971). Although Hundleby did not make reference to cultural shock, he did describe the unusual emotional tone of the town. In his report Hundleby considered the town unique in the pervasive levels of unhappiness and dissatisfaction as well as the exceptional number of social problems such as drinking, suicide, and mental breakdown, to name but a few.

Despite the early predictions of the town administration that the problems would cease and the population would stabilize once married men replaced the transient construction workers, the problems continued and labour turnover remained high. Even the school, normally a bastion of stability, had so many problems that a group from the Department of Education



was sent in to evaluate the institution. Their report described the unusually low morale among the staff, the conflicts between staff and parents as well as other problems. They recommended better administrative procedures, yet the problems persisted. Teacher mobility had continued to be high while morale has remained low. One might, perhaps, suggest that this difficulty of the institution is unrelated to the rest of the town, if it were not for the fact that the problems and the reactions to them of the teachers seem to be consistent with those occurring elsewhere in the town. That is, the staff developed a group to reinforce their milieu, they engaged in stereotyping and similar adaptive mechanisms. Thus, although the specific situations differed in detail, the experience of culture shock and the adaptive strategies were similar.

The Metis probably experienced culture shock to a greater degree than the Eurocanadians, although they also had to cope with radically different bio-physical, social, and culture environments. The Metis alone witnessed the transformation and destruction of a natural environment to which they were deeply attached and to which they felt themselves an integral part, not simply as owners of property in the Eurocanadian sense, but in the spiritual sense expressed by such Indian writers as Manual and Pospuns (1975). Moreover,



the destruction of that environment signalled the destruction of their way of life, their social, cultural, and economic systems. To add to their stress, they deeply feared that they would be coerced to move from their land as they had been when they were removed from the Jasper area to make way for a federal park.

Yet, they tried to adapt to the circumstances which were forced upon them. Then entered the wage labour force. They attempted to juggle employment in the wage economy with traditional pursuits such as guiding and trapping. They came together as a corporate group, electing their own representatives to deal with the government for land tenure. Their elected representatives, The Native Area Development Committee, successfully conducted meetings with the town council and other local officials to resolve mutual concerns. Moreover, they began negotiations with the provincial government to obtain funding for large and small scale development designed not only to benefit the native community by producing alternative employment and capital-producing projects, but also to involve people of the new town in their plans. Their success would have benefitted the town as a whole by breaking the precarious economic base of a single industry town.

Although the development plans and activities of the Metis were blessed by the Crump Commission (1973), they were not supported by the provincial government despite their







continual verbal encouragement of such activities. The Native Area Development Committee, encouraged by government promises, gradually lost the confidence of town officials and members of their own community when the government's promises were never augmented. They were given enough money to operate an office, to plan, to train, but not to implement. They became a local social service agency, dealing with an ever-increasing number of social problems as the native community struggled to cope, without the benefit of the support promised them by the provincial government.

The discussion has asserted that two distinct groups, the new town residents and the Metis were both, to varying degrees, affected by culture shock. Since the theoretical framework for this thesis was developed, for the most part, after the research was completed, it was not possible precisely to measure the exact extent to which each group was affected, nor the precise manner in which different stressors affected each group. Yet, it is possible to deduce some probable consequences from the theoretical framework itself and to compare these in terms of the behaviors described in the body of the thesis.

If culture shock occurs when there is a disparity between the resources (cultural knowledge) one has to deal with a given environment and the actual conditions which exist, then it may be stated that the greater the disparity



which exists, the greater the stress. The Eurocanadians, although experiencing a different environment, had had experience dealing with many of the institutional and social forms extant in Grande Cache, even if the details were different. The Metis, on the other hand, had had only limited experience dealing with these institutions.

Stressors affecting core values and institutions would probably generate higher levels of stress than those affecting peripheral domains. Most people, to some extent, seemed affected by the radical changes in the bio-physical environment. Even old-time trappers and packers in the area, although used to Eurocanadian institutions, seemed disoriented by the alteration in the bio-physical environment. Western Canadians and Englishmen seemed least upset by the school system, while Maritimers and Native people found it to be a source of many stressors. The Native people and, to some extent, the Maritimers saw the school system as a direct threat to the perpetuation of their values and cultural system. Many of the miners saw the mining practices used not only as unsafe -- a major personal stressor -- but also in disagreement with their understanding of the "right" way a mine should be run, although they disagreed among themselves depending on their origins, as to how it should be operated.

The important thing is that these stressors affected



directly their personal safety and their values surrounding an important part of their identities, their role as miners. Many of the Metis wished to retain their traditional lifestyle, yet they perceived that it was impossible given the changes to their environment. While others wished to enter the wage economy, they found it difficult to adjust to it, given their cultural knowledge.

Similarly, it may be suggested that stress levels would be higher with those who are unable to act directly upon the stressor affecting them, thereby reducing the stress. The Eurocanadians of the new town had more options to reduce the stressors affecting them than did the Metis, although they too were confronted by restrictive government policy and inadequate resources. Eurocanadians, familiar to varying extents with government institutions, attempted to manipulate the institutions to bring about change. Parents confronted the school staff both in the school and during home and school meetings. Some parents petitioned the school board to bring about changes or wrote directly to the minister. But, for the most part, success in these endeavors brought about changes in applications of rules but not solutions of the major policy and administrative problems which affected the schools. The miners relied upon the Union to alter circumstances at the mine. To some extent, safety precautions were eventually changed, but morale, recruiting practices and working conditions remained a problem. The







Union also supported the miners in their bid for better food prices. But prices did not really change for several years until some of the businesses changed hands and new businesses came into town to compete with the established ones. The government conducted a price survey to see whether prices were competitive and concluded that they were. Yet the miners, for a time, found it more economical to send shoppers in a bus to nearby Hinton and many residents continued to drive to Edmonton to shop. The merchants from the beginning sought to diversify the town's economic base. They joined forces with the Chamber of Commerce and eventually the Native Area Development Committee and encouraged tourism as a second industry. Despite the fact that the MLA from the area was the Minister of Tourism, they were unable to obtain the road improvements they felt necessary for the development of a tourist industry.

The Metis, although receiving lavish amounts of encouragement from the government, received very little real support. The government refused to support native businessmen who wished to develop their lands for tourist enterprises or ranching until the question of tenure was settled. They often rationalized their reluctance to support natives' industries on the basis that the Metis were all employed. The Metis often wondered whether the real message was they would only get money for development if they were indigent. However,



even when a government financed research document (Harrison 1974) was prepared describing the social problems which were developing in the native community as a result of participation in the wage economy, the government failed to act. Their verbal encouragement of local leadership on the one hand and only token financial support on the other, not only undermined the leaders, but it substantially contributed to the demoralization of the entire native community.

Initially, with the promise of government funding, the Native Area Development Committee was able to deal effectively with many of the immediate stressors affecting the town. But when the promised support from the government did not come, they lost their ability to resolve either the short or long term stressors. That is, they lost their ability to operate on equal terms with town leaders and they were unable to provide alternate socio-economic options for those who either could not or would not adapt to the wage economy. In essence, the Metis saw their options shrink from independence to interdependence and finally dependence. The only option, it would appear, if one may judge by the actions rather than words, that was ever supported by the government was assimilation and possibly cultural genocide.

The new town residents, although diverse, nevertheless were able to converse together and eventually create certain shared meanings, whether through conflict or cooperation.



The fact that various groups often used dialectical differences as characteristics for derogatory comparisons does not detract from the fact that communication was one of the important means of altering and understanding their new socio-cultural environment. The exception to this was the small Japanese and Korean group resident in the town who came to Grande Cache often without any ability to speak English. They, however, were, for the most part, aloof from the general processes of socio-cultural negotiations taking place. They participated in few of the institutions or associations in the town. The Metis, a much larger group by comparison, spoke very little English when the town was constructed. One of the first collective acts was to petition for a school to teach spoken English to them. During the next several years they had the option of going to an education program run by the Department of Advanced Education. This service, like most of the provincial services available, was unwavering in its resistance to changing to meet the demands of new town life. Requests that the school incorporate the highly successful English as Second Language approach to learning English fell upon deaf ears. As a result, most of the students found the learning experience tedious and unrewarding. Despite the conflict and anxiety increasingly apparent in the work setting, many Metis males found it more rewarding to struggle with the dilemmas of







wage labour than to go to school. They felt that they could not support their families during the extended period it would take to gain proficiency in English. Sometimes people went to school as a substitute for unemployment insurance when they found the job situation too stressful. Although it was recommended to the Department of Advanced Education and Manpower that programs be implemented in English as Second Language and life skills as part of on the job training, no action was taken by the government. The life skills training was aimed at helping those Metis who chose to engage in wage labor to deal with the stressors they encountered, since increasingly they seemed to feel powerless.<sup>3</sup> The reluctance of the government to meet the educational needs of the Metis deprived them of critical tools for either changing their environment or for increasing their cultural knowledge to cope with the new stressors threatening them. They were, in effect, deprived of the use of some of the important tools for dealing with culture shock. This also handicapped them in their negotiations with Eurocanadians as to the nature of legitimate conditions and the importance of their own traditions and interests.

Cognitive resynthesis occurs when equilibrium has

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<sup>3</sup> Many of the Metis found it difficult to deal with the aggressiveness they perceived as coming from their employer and to protect their interests while on the job.



been restored, usually as a result of both environmental modifications as well as learning. The major stressors have been reduced and the individual finds behavior predictable and his world largely under his control again. But what happens if such resynthesis is blocked, assuming that the individual cannot remove himself from the stressful situation? Silye, referring to physiological rather than psychological processes, suggests that eventually exhaustion and death occur if the stress is not reduced. In terms of unresolved cognitive stress, Wallace paints an equally grim picture.

Under conditions of disorganization, the system from the standpoint of at least some of its members, is unable to make possible the reliable satisfaction of certain values which are held to be essential to the continued well-being and self-respect. The mazeway of a culturally disillusioned person is unpredictable, or barren in its simplicity, or both. His mood (depending on the precise nature of the disorganization) will be panic stricken, anxiety, shame, guilt, depression, or apathy (1970:189).

If, for whatever reason, individuals are unable to reduce their stress either through cognitive resynthesis, withdrawal from the situation or substantial reorganization of their environment, deflected or destructive adaptation may occur. Such adaptation relies upon stress reduction strategies which temporarily reduce the stress but not



the stressors, thus ultimately increasing the overall stress level.

Some of the strategies first adopted to cope with culture shock are of this type. For example, the retreat to familiar socio-cultural surroundings, while an important protection against culture shock at first, may become destructive of individuals who depend too heavily upon such bulwarks rather than engaging in the required negotiations with the new environment. Drinking may be a useful way of letting off steam in stressful conditions. But if the individual increasingly relies on liquor to reduce the feelings of stress rather than dealing with the stressors, he may become involved in destructive cycles which interfere with the reduction of stressors and which generate new stressors, thus making it even more difficult to reduce the original stress.

For many of the Metis, drinking became a primary stress reducer. Finding themselves without the support and resources needed to adapt successfully to the new environment, they shifted from the usual sequence of adaptation to deflected adaptation. Yet they continued to rely upon the primary adaptive strategies which both groups engaged in even though they were aware that they were not working, while at the same time they increased their drinking, often





switching in desperation to such substitutes as vanilla, hairspray, and mouthwash. Deprived of the government development support they requested and worked to get, they preferred to retain adaptive strategies which were not working rather than yield to the pressures of assimilation. Wallace describes such behaviors in terms of the Principle of Cognitive Structures.

The individual will not abandon any particular conception of reality (including, therefore, his culturally standard), even in the face of direct evidence of its current inutility, without having had an opportunity to construct a new mazeway ... (1970:203).

Without the needed government support, many of the Metis were denied the opportunity to construct a new mazeway. They reflected a corollary of Wallace's Principle, the dilemma of immobility.

Individuals for years will cling to a disordered socio-cultural system in which events do not reliably follow upon their supposed antecedents rather than face the anxiety of cultural abandonment (1970:204).

In more prosaic terms, the nineteenth century English writer, Mathew Arnold aptly described the Metis situation. For they were:

Standing between two worlds,  
One dead and the other powerless to be born.



It is difficult to evaluate the full impact of unresolved stress upon the residents of the new town. As Hundleby pointed out, there was great unhappiness in the town, as well as an unusually high rate of social pathology. But as the last resort, they could leave and leave they did in large numbers during the first years after the town was built. The Crump Commission reports turnover rates as high as 90 per cent for 1970. The Metis, on the other hand, had nowhere to go. They were stuck with the town and the changes which had occurred.

New resource towns have frequently been cited in the literature for their inherent social problems and their high labor turnover. Sometimes these characteristics are simply written off as necessary evils which go along with resource development. The implication is that, at best, the towns are places which attract unstable elements interested only in short term, get-rich-quick types of employment. In recent years governments and employers have expended considerable amounts of money on physical amenities in an effort to stem the constant turnover of personnel. The costs in these moving allowances, apart from the costs to production, is high. If Grande Cache is an example, the costs in terms of human suffering far outweigh the direct fiscal outlay.



The data from Grande Cache strongly suggests that these losses may be curbed by taking into account the effects of culture shock. Ignoring the catalytic effects that dishonest recruiting had at Grande Cache, one can assume that any time people are exposed to a radically different social, cultural, and bio-physical environment, they will experience culture shock. Their adaptations to the new environment can be substantially effected by reasonable planning, which facilitates the required learning. In a discussion of culture shock, Spradley and Philips (1972:521) describe the major characteristics of the adaptive process.

Accommodation to a change in a cultural environment involves a reorganization of cognitive maps, learning new rules for interaction, changing previously learned definitions of experience, and acquiring the skills needed to perform in the new situation.

In addition to facilitating the learning processes, or perhaps as part of them, it would be extremely important to inform prospective residents about the possible cognitive and psychological stress which they may encounter before they agree to migrate to a new town. It seems important also to develop structures and services which not only facilitate healthy adaptation but which





also allow for some environmental modification as the residents struggle towards cognitive resynthesis. Such structural flexibility would help to overcome the sense of powerlessness experienced by many Grande Cache residents as well as probably encouraging the development of structures which are really in tune with the residents' needs.

There are many, both in the new town and the provincial government, who have wondered at dramatic changes exhibited by the Metis community. They point to rapid change in work patterns, the accelerated rates of alcoholism and other social pathologies which occurred in so short a span of time. Some suggest that it is the inevitable fate of native people exposed to white society. The implication is that they are not strong enough to resist the evils of white society. The data, however, asserts not that they could not adapt but they were not given the opportunity to do so despite their repeated efforts. Their tragic history reflects the destructive potential of culture shock if the opportunities for adaptation are blocked. It also seriously questions the government's morality, not only in terms of their failure to support the Metis but their development of the area without consideration of the Metis' rights. Given the



potentially destructive effects of culture shock, to ignore the Metis is to promote a policy of cultural genocide.

The history of the native people in Grande Cache bears testimony to the probable future of other native groups in Canada who face the threat of dramatic alteration of their environment in the cause of resource development. Their experiences dramatically contradict those who suggest that the opportunities for wage employment as a consequence of resource development will ipso facto benefit native communities. For without the opportunity to control the changes affecting them and to develop institutional forms which are consistent with their traditions, they have little opportunity to control stress and to develop new mazeways. They will become like the Metis of Grande Cache, disinherited in their own land.



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## APPENDIX I

### HOUSING POLICY FOR McINTYRE EMPLOYEES

From: Review of the Alberta Coal Industry,  
March, 1975, Energy Resources  
Conservation Board, ERCB Report 74-E





## HOUSING POLICY FOR MCINTYRE EMPLOYEES

McIntyre's housing policy is designed to encourage our employees to purchase their homes. We felt that this was good for the employee, good for the Company, and good for the community.

For this reason, McIntyre has established the following policy:

1. Houses will be sold at construction cost, without downpayment.
2. Mortgages will be arranged and guaranteed by McIntyre.
3. The first mortgage, at current interest rates, will be for approximately 80 per cent of the selling price. These mortgages will be repayable over a twenty-five year period and are CMHC approved.
4. The balance of the purchase price on each home will be paid by Smoky River Investments Ltd. The homeowner will enter into an "acceptance of liability" agreement for this ammount with Smoky River Investments Ltd. This is in effect a loan to the employee, on which he will make no payments. For employees prior to January 1, 1972, no interest will be charged. After the first five years of the contract, Smoky River Investments Ltd. will



reduce the amount of the "loan" by one-tenth per year. This loan reduction will be applied to building up personal equity for the employee in his home. The total liability will be forgiven at the end of the fifteenth year. For employees after January 1st, 1972 the balance of the purchase price is deferred at no interest to the fifteenth year at which time the employee is responsible for repayment in total to McIntyre.

5. Under the conditions of the sale, during the first fifteen years of the contract, Smoky River Investments Ltd. must buy back the property from the employee. During this time, if the employee leaves, he must sell his property to Smoky River Investments Ltd. This condition safeguards the employee in case of termination of employment, death, default of purchase agreement or when he ceases to be in continuous possession of the home. If a home is brought back by the Company during the first five years, the price of the buy-back will be the initial cost plus the value of the improvements up to a maximum of \$2,000. If the buy-back occurs within the second five year period, then the general housing market conditions in Grande Cache will also be taken



into account, to the employee's benefit. During the third five year period of the agreement, Smoky River Investments Ltd. will have the first right of refusal to purchase the home from the employee at a price which any bona fide purchaser would pay. After the fifteenth year of the agreement, Smoky River Investments Ltd. will have no rights or obligations insofar as buy-backs are concerned.

6. To assist the employee pay off the first mortgage, McIntyre will pay employees who are purchasing a home a monthly subsidy of \$100.00.
7. Relocation costs were modified in early 1972 and are now considered on an individual basis.
8. This policy means that an employee can purchase a home costing between \$18,500 and \$28,000 without a down-payment. If we assume that the employee receives a net \$75.00 after tax benefit from his monthly subsidy of \$100.00, the monthly cost of purchasing a home, including property taxes, will range between \$90.00 and \$180.00 per month.





## APPENDIX II

### GRANDE CACHE NATIVE LAND SETTLEMENT



## MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

B E T W E E N:

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN in right of the  
Province of Alberta, as represented by  
the Minister of Lands and Forests,  
(hereinafter referred to as the  
'Minister'),

OF THE FIRST PART,

- and -

GRANDE CACHE LAKE ENTERPRISES, a limited  
partnership formed pursuant to Part 2 of  
the Partnership Act being Chapter 271 of  
the Revised Statutes of Alberta 1970,  
(hereinafter referred to as the 'Partnership'),

OF THE SECOND PART,

- and -

KAMISAK DEVELOPMENT CO. LTD., a limited  
company incorporated under the provisions of  
the Companies Act being Chapter 60 of the  
Revised Statutes of Alberta 1970,  
(hereinafter referred to as the 'Company'),

OF THE THIRD PART.

WHEREAS negotiations for the acquisition of public  
lands by the Grande Cache area native settlers have taken place;  
and

WHEREAS the settlers of the Grande Cache Lake area have  
formed a limited partnership; and

WHEREAS the General Partner of the aforesaid limited  
partnership has incorporated the Company to hold title to the



aforesaid lands as agent for the members of the Partnership; and

WHEREAS it has been mutually agreed that the Company should be given title to certain tracts of lands, pursuant to The Public Lands Act, subject to the provisions hereof;

NOW THEREFORE in consideration of the premises contained herein the parties hereto covenant and agree as follows:

1. As a condition precedent to this Agreement the Partnership agreement shall contain provisions whereby membership in the Partnership is restricted to the native settlers who settled in the Grande Cache district before the year 1960, their husbands and wives and natural and lawfully adopted children and their descendants; their lawful husbands, wives and natural and lawfully adopted children from generation to generation. The interest of any child shall be held by his/her next-of-kin in trust and shall neither mature nor vest until such child attains the age of majority.
2. As conditions which must be fulfilled to entitle the Company and the Partnership to continue to hold title to the lands after acquiring the said title, the aforesaid provision of the said Partnership agreement shall remain in force and effect permanently, and the Company shall at all times be wholly under the control of the Partnership through its nominees.
3. The lands referred to herein when surveyed will be approximately the lands colored yellow in the sketch map marked "Appendix A", (being in Township 57, Range 8, West of the 6th Meridian) subject to all existing lesser interests therein, reserving thereout all mines, minerals, and excepting thereout all surveyed roadways and right-of-ways.
4. After completion of the land survey the Minister will cause to be issued a title in the name of the Company for so long as the Company shall hold the said title as agent for the said Partnership, and such title shall be subject to the Minister's interest provided for by this agreement.
5. It is mutually agreed that the Partnership and the Company shall have no right to convey to anyone any





interest in any of the said lands without first obtaining an Order of the Lieutenant Governor in Council authorizing the proposed conveyance, but this provision shall not preclude the Partnership from making any special arrangements as to the use of the lands by the members of the Partnership.

6. In the event that the Partnership desires to have the Company sell any of the said lands, the Province of Alberta shall have the first option to purchase the lands being offered for sale, the price to be mutually agreed upon, failing which each party shall appoint an arbitrator who in turn shall select a third arbitrator to form an arbitration committee for the purpose of determining a fair market price. The said arbitration shall be governed by the provisions of The Arbitration Act.
7. The Minister will arrange with the municipal taxation authority to exempt the Company and the Partnership from its tax levies for a period of five years from the date hereof after which time the Minister may in his discretion recommend an extension of the tax exemption for a further period not exceeding five years.
8. During the first two years of this Agreement the Minister will at the request of the Partnership supply to it posts, barbed wire and staples (free of charge) for the purpose of the Partnership erecting fences along any of the surveyed boundaries of the said lands but the Minister may limit the amount of any fence material supplies at any one time until he is satisfied that the material supplied has been or is being used for the specified purpose. No fence erected may have more than four strands of wire.
9. In the event that the Partnership ceases to exist or is dissolved for failure of descendants the said lands shall revert to the Minister whereupon the Minister shall be entitled to a cancellation of the Company's certificate of title or such other documentation as may be required pursuant to The Land Titles Act (or any Act passed in substitution thereof) and the Company shall execute all such documents as may then be required to give effect to this provision and the Minister hereby undertakes to hold the said lands in trust for the use and benefit of the surviving native settlers and the descendants of the native settlers who were given land in the Grande Cache district under Agreements between their legal associations and the Minister, which



Agreements were executed contemporaneously hereto.

10. It is hereby mutually agreed and understood that the lands given under this Agreement are accepted by the Partnership, and the individual members thereof, in full and final settlement of all their land claims against Her Majesty the Queen in right of the Province of Alberta.
11. The covenants and Agreements herein contained shall be binding upon and apply and enure to the benefit of the heirs, executors, administrators and successors of the parties hereto respectively.
12. This Agreement shall continue in full force and effect after as well as before a certificate of title has been issued in favour of the Company.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the said parties have hereunto set their hands and seals on the 6 day of January, A.D. 1975.

*[Signature]*  
Deputy MINISTER OF LANDS AND FORESTS

)  
) GRANDE CACHE LAKE ENTERPRISES  
) LIMITED PARTNERS  
)  
) *[Signature]* His Mark  
) Adolphus Agnes  
)  
) Adolphus Agnes  
) *[Signature]* His Mark  
) Adam Agnes  
) Adam Agnes  
)  
) *[Signature]*  
) Walter Moberly  
)  
) *[Signature]*  
) Collin Moberly  
)  
)  
) *[Signature]*  
) Joe Karkuntie  
)  
) *[Signature]*  
) Milton Joachim





Bellany Joachim  
Bellany Joachim

Milton Joachim  
Milton Joachim as Trustee for the  
infant Lawrence Joachim

Milton Joachim  
Milton Joachim as Trustee for the  
infant Lorraine Joachim

Milton Joachim  
Milton Joachim as Trustee for the  
infant Frank Joachim

Milton Joachim  
Milton Joachim as Trustee for the  
infant Joyce Joachim

Milton Joachim  
Milton Joachim as Trustee for the  
infant Erian Joachim

Milton Joachim  
Milton Joachim as Trustee for the  
infant Baby Joachim

Myles McDonald  
Myles McDonald

Marie McDonald  
Marie McDonald

Myles McDonald  
Myles McDonald as Trustee for the  
infant Audrey McDonald

Myles McDonald  
Myles McDonald as Trustee for the  
infant Tommy McDonald

Myles McDonald  
Myles McDonald as Trustee for the  
infant Rita McDonald

Myles McDonald  
Myles McDonald as Trustee for the  
infant Doris McDonald

Myles McDonald  
Myles McDonald as Trustee for the  
infant Garry McDonald

Myles McDonald  
Myles McDonald as Trustee for the  
infant Brian McDonald





Frank MacDonald

Frank MacDonald

JANEMCDONALD

Jean MacDonald

Frank MacDonald

Frank MacDonald as Trustee for the  
infant Billy MacDonald

Frank MacDonald

Frank MacDonald as Trustee for the  
infant Kelly MacDonald

Frank MacDonald

Frank MacDonald as Trustee for the  
infant Alec MacDonald

Frank MacDonald

Frank MacDonald as Trustee for the  
infant Howard MacDonald

David M. McDonald

David McDonald

Florence McDonald

Florence McDonald

Florence McDonald

Florence McDonald as Trustee for the  
infant Rex McDonald

Florence McDonald

Florence McDonald as Trustee for the  
Rena McDonald

Florence McDonald

Florence McDonald as Trustee for the  
infant Laura McDonald

Florence McDonald

Florence McDonald as Trustee for the  
infant St. Pierre McDonald

KAMISAK DEVELOPMENT CO. LTD.

Per:

Charles McDonald



## AFFIDAVIT OF EXECUTION

I, ALLAN TEACHMAN, of the Town of GRANDE CACHE in the Province of Alberta, MAKE OATH AND SAY:

1. I was personally present and did see the persons named as limited partners in the within Agreement duly sign and execute the same for the purposes named therein.
2. That the same was executed at the Town of Grande Cache, in the Province of Alberta, and that I am the subscribing witness thereto.
3. That I know the said limited partners and each is in my belief of the full age of eighteen years.
4. That I first truly, distinctly, and audibly explained to the said limited partners the contents of the within Agreement in their native language and that the limited partners appeared to understand the same.

SWORN before me at )

in the Province of Alberta )

this 9 day of Jan. )

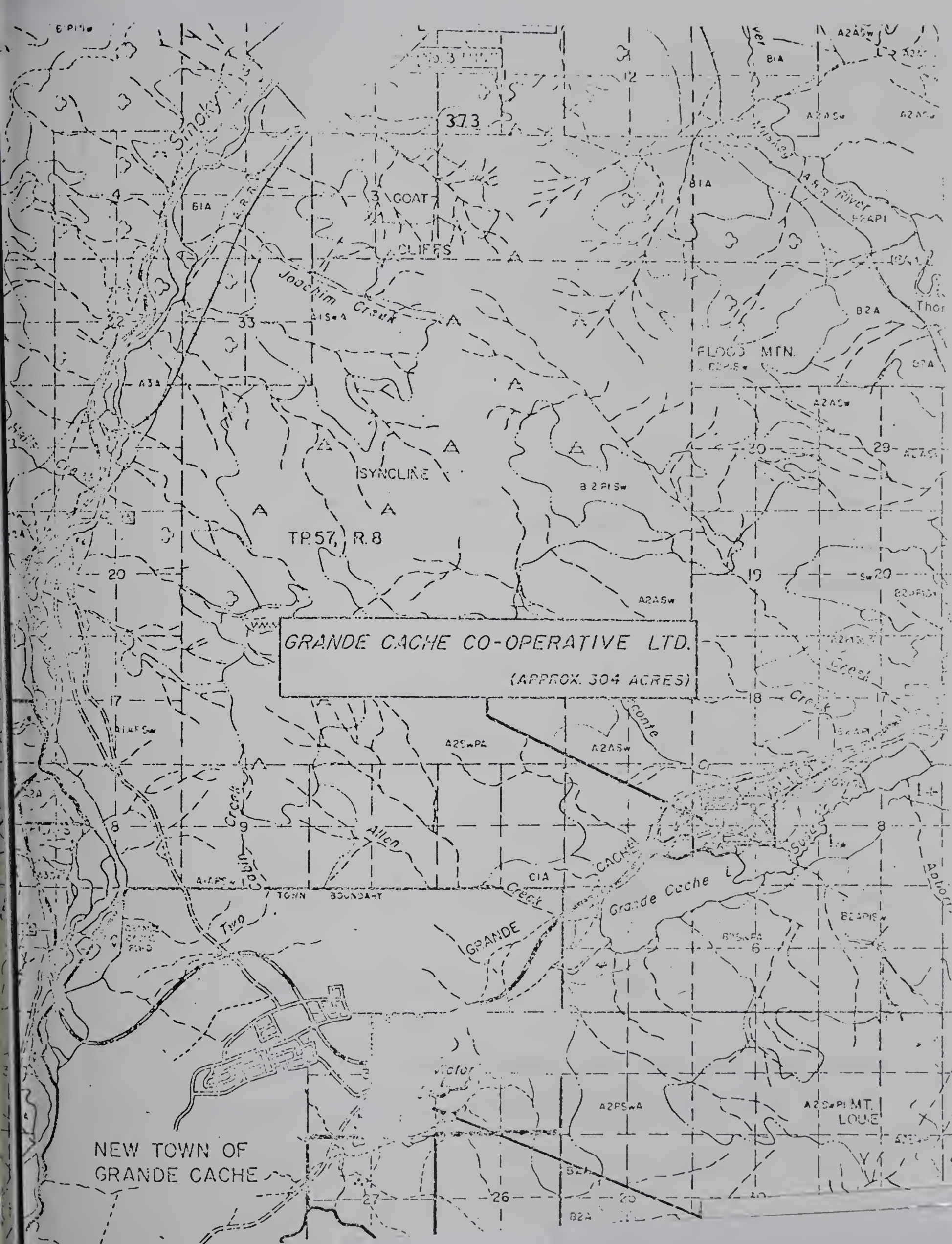
A.D. 1975. )

[Signature]  
A Commissioner for Oaths in )  
and for the Province of )  
Alberta

Allan Teachman











## MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

B E T W E E N:

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN in right of the Province of Alberta, as represented by the Minister of Lands and Forests, (hereinafter referred to as the 'Minister'),

OF THE FIRST PART,

- and -

JOACHIM ENTERPRISES, a limited partnership formed pursuant to Part 2 of the Partnership Act being Chapter 271 of the Revised Statutes of Alberta 1970, (hereinafter referred to as the 'Partnership'),

OF THE SECOND PART,

- and -

JOACHIM ENTERPRISES LTD., a limited company incorporated under the provisions of the Companies Act being Chapter 60 of the Revised Statutes of Alberta 1970, (hereinafter referred to as the 'Company'),

OF THE THIRD PART.

WHEREAS negotiations for the acquisition of public lands by the Grande Cache area native settlers have taken place; and

WHEREAS the settlers of the Joachim area have formed a limited partnership; and

WHEREAS the General Partner of the aforesaid limited partnership has incorporated the Company to hold title to the



aforesaid lands as agent for the members of the Partnership; and

WHEREAS it has been mutually agreed that the Company should be given title to certain tracts of lands, pursuant to The Public Lands Act, subject to the provisions hereof;

NOW THEREFORE in consideration of the premises contained herein the parties hereto covenant and agree as follows:

1. As a condition precedent to this Agreement the Partnership agreement shall contain provisions whereby membership in the Partnership is restricted to the native settlers who settled in the Grande Cache district before the year 1960, their husbands and wives and natural and lawfully adopted children and their descendants; their lawful husbands, wives and natural and lawfully adopted children from generation to generation. The interest of any child shall be held by his/her next-of-kin in trust and shall neither mature nor vest until such child attains the age of majority.
2. As conditions which must be fulfilled to entitle the Company and the Partnership to continue to hold title to the lands after acquiring the said title, the aforesaid provision of the said Partnership agreement shall remain in force and effect permanently, and the Company shall at all times be wholly under the control of the Partnership through its nominees.
3. The lands referred to herein when surveyed will be approximately the lands colored yellow in the sketch map marked "Appendix A", (being in Township 57, Range 8, West of the 6th Meridian) subject to all existing lesser interests therein, reserving thereout all mines, minerals, and excepting thereout all surveyed roadways and right-of-ways.
4. After completion of the land survey the Minister will cause to be issued a title in the name of the Company for so long as the Company shall hold the said title as agent for the said Partnership, and such title shall be subject to the Minister's interest provided for by this agreement.
5. It is mutually agreed that the Partnership and the Company shall have no right to convey to anyone any





interest in any of the said lands without first obtaining an Order of the Lieutenant Governor in Council authorizing the proposed conveyance, but this provision shall not preclude the Partnership from making any special arrangements as to the use of the lands by the members of the Partnership.

6. In the event that the Partnership desires to have the Company sell any of the said lands, the Province of Alberta shall have the first option to purchase the lands being offered for sale, the price to be mutually agreed upon, failing which each party shall appoint an arbitrator who in turn shall select a third arbitrator to form an arbitration committee for the purpose of determining a fair market price. The said arbitration shall be governed by the provisions of The Arbitration Act.
7. The Minister will arrange with the municipal taxation authority to exempt the Company and the Partnership from its tax levies for a period of five years from the date hereof after which time the Minister may in his discretion recommend an extension of the tax exemption for a further period not exceeding five years.
8. During the first two years of this Agreement the Minister will at the request of the Partnership supply to it posts, barbed wire and staples (free of charge) for the purpose of the Partnership erecting fences along any of the surveyed boundaries of the said lands but the Minister may limit the amount of any fence material supplies at any one time until he is satisfied that the material supplied has been or is being used for the specified purpose. No fence erected may have more than four strands of wire.
9. In the event that the Partnership ceases to exist or is dissolved for failure of descendants the said lands shall revert to the Minister whereupon the Minister shall be entitled to a cancellation of the Company's certificate of title or such other documentation as may be required pursuant to The Land Titles Act (or any Act passed in substitution thereof) and the Company shall execute all such documents as may then be required to give effect to this provision and the Minister hereby undertakes to hold the said lands in trust for the use and benefit of the surviving native settlers and the descendants of the native settlers who were given land in the Grande Cache district under Agreements between their legal associations and the Minister, which





Agreements were executed contemporaneously hereto.

10. It is hereby mutually agreed and understood that the lands given under this Agreement are accepted by the Partnership, and the individual members thereof, in full and final settlement of all their land claims against Her Majesty the Queen in right of the Province of Alberta.
11. The covenants and Agreements herein contained shall be binding upon and apply and enure to the benefit of the heirs, executors, administrators and successors of the parties hereto respectively.
12. This Agreement shall continue in full force and effect after as well as before a certificate of title has been issued in favour of the Company.
13. This Agreement repeals and replaces the Agreement entered into between the Minister and Joachim Enterprises dated the 27th day of June A.D. 1973 which Agreement is hereby declared at an end and is no longer of any effect.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the said parties have hereunto set their hands and seals on the 6 day of January, A.D. 1975.

*Deputy*                       
MINISTER OF LANDS AND FORESTS

) JOACHIM ENTERPRISES  
) LIMITED PARTNERS  
) *X* *Her Mark*  
) *Alice Joachim*  
) Alice Joachim  
) VICTORIA MOBERLY  
) Victoria Moberly  
) VICTORIA MOBERLY  
) Victoria Moberly in Trust for  
) the infant Lyle Bill Moberly  
)



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) *X Her Mark*  
) *Audrey Moberly*  
) Audrey Mary Moberly  
) *X Her Mark*  
) *Audrey Moberly*  
) Audrey Mary Moberly in Trust for  
) the infant Rubin Edward Moberly  
) LEOLA MOBERLY  
) Leola Marie Moberly  
) LEOLA MOBERLY  
) Leola Marie Moberly in Trust for  
) the infant Kenny Henry Moberly

JOACHIM ENTERPRISES LTD.

Per: \_\_\_\_\_

*X Her Mark*  
*Alie Joachim*



## AFFIDAVIT OF EXECUTION

I, ALLAN JOACHIM, of the Town of  
GRANDE CACHE in the Province of Alberta, MAKE OATH AND SAY:

1. I was personally present and did see the persons named as limited partners in the within Agreement duly sign and execute the same for the purposes named therein.
2. That the same was executed at the Town of Grande Cache, in the Province of Alberta, and that I am the subscribing witness thereto.
3. That I know the said limited partners and each is in my belief of the full age of eighteen years.
4. That I first truly, distinctly, and audibly explained to the said limited partners the contents of the within Agreement in their native language and that the limited partners appeared to understand the same.

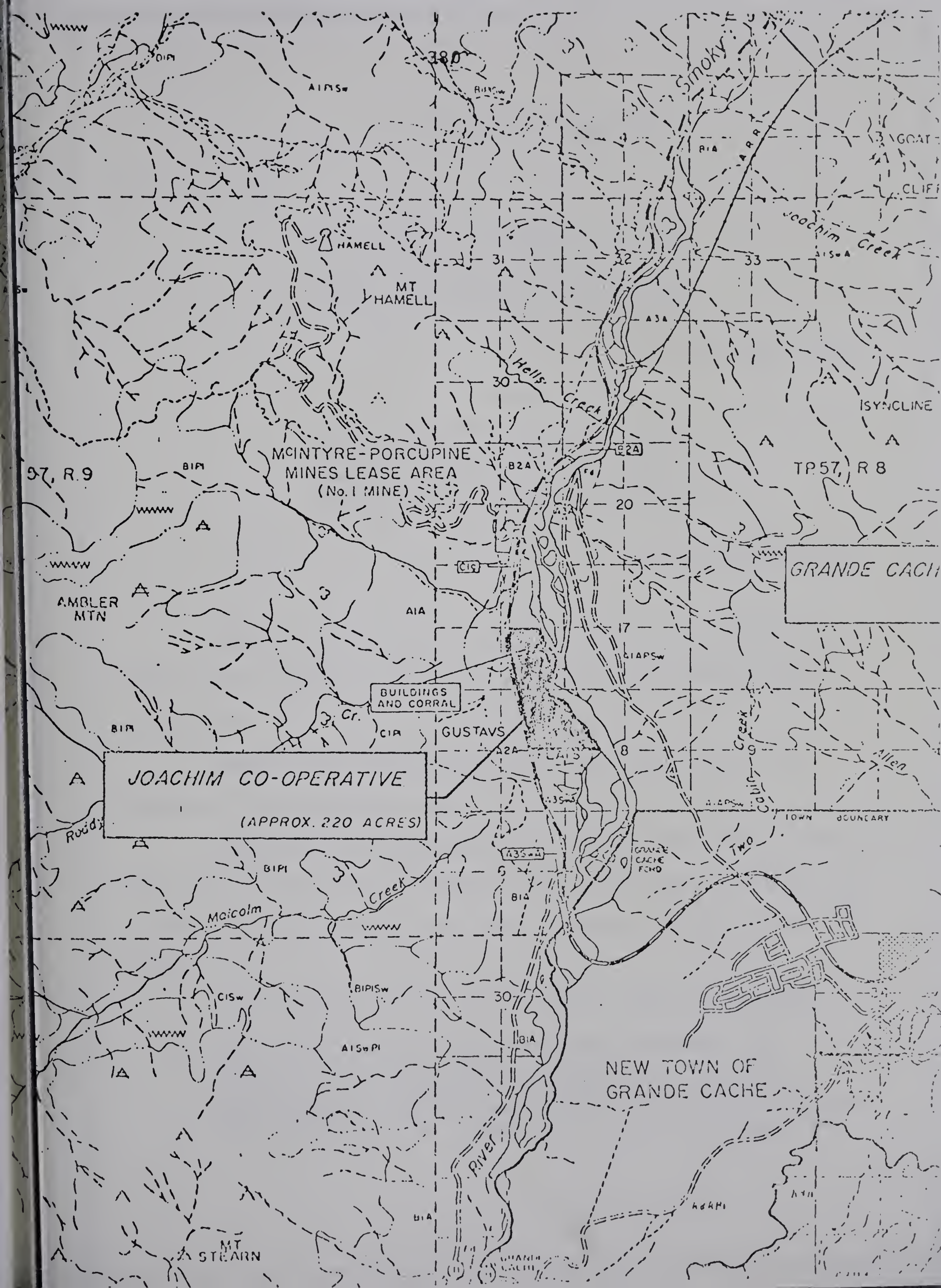
SWORN before me at )  
 in the Province of Alberta )  
 this 9 day of Jan )  
 A.D. 1975. )

Allan Joachim

James B. Bess )  
 A Commissioner for Oaths in )  
 and for the Province of )  
 Alberta )







97, R. 9

MCINTYRE-PORCUPINE  
MINES LEASE AREA  
(No. 1 MINE)

TP 57, R 8

GRANDE CACHE

JOACHIM CO-OPERATIVE

(APPROX. 220 ACRES)

GUSTAVS

NEW TOWN OF  
GRANDE CACHE



## MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

B E T W E E N:

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN in right  
of the Province of Alberta, as  
represented by the Minister of  
Lands and Forests, (hereinafter  
referred to as the 'Minister'),

OF THE FIRST PART,

- and -

SUSA CREEK CO-OPERATIVE LIMITED  
of Susa Creek, Alberta, with  
its Head Office at Susa Creek,  
Alberta, (hereinafter referred to  
as the 'Co-operative'),

OF THE SECOND PART.

WHEREAS negotiations for the acquisition of public  
lands by the Grande Cache area native settlers have taken  
place; and

WHEREAS the settlers of the Susa Creek area have  
formed the Co-operative; and

WHEREAS it has been mutually agreed that the Co-operative  
should be given title to certain tracts of lands, pursuant to  
section 21 of The Public Lands Act, subject to the provisions  
hereof;

NOW THEREFORE the parties hereto agree as follows:

1. As a condition precedent to this Agreement the  
Co-operative shall adopt and register with the  
Registrar of Companies a By-Law restricting the  
membership in the Co-operative to the native settlers  
who settled in the Grande Cache district before the





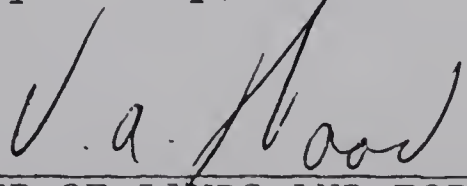
- year 1960, their husbands and wives and natural and lawfully adopted children and their descendants; their lawful husbands, wives and natural and lawfully adopted children from generation to generation. The interest of any child shall be held by his/her next-of-kin in trust and shall neither mature nor vest until such child attains the age of majority.
2. The By-Law referred to in paragraph 1 shall remain in force and effect permanently, being a condition which must be fulfilled to entitle the Co-operative to continue to hold title to the lands after acquiring the said title.
  3. The lands referred to herein when surveyed will be approximately the lands colored yellow in the sketch map marked "Appendix A", (all being in Township 57, Range 7, West of the 6th Meridian) subject to all existing lesser interests therein, reserving thereout all mines, minerals, and excepting thereout all surveyed roadways and right-of-ways.
  4. After completion of the land survey the Minister will cause to be issued a title in the name of the Co-operative, as aforesaid, and further subject to the Minister's Caveat protecting the Minister's interest provided for by this Agreement.
  5. It is mutually agreed that the Co-operative shall have no right to convey to anyone any interest in any of the said lands without first obtaining an Order of the Lieutenant Governor in Council authorizing the proposed conveyance, but this provision shall not preclude the Co-operative from making any special arrangements as to the use of the lands by the members of the Co-operative.
  6. In the event that the Co-operative desires to sell any of the said lands, the Province of Alberta shall have the first option to purchase the lands being offered for sale, the price to be mutually agreed upon, failing which each party shall appoint an arbitrator who in turn shall select a third arbitrator to form an arbitration committee for the purpose of determining a fair market price. The said arbitration shall be governed by the provisions of The Arbitration Act.





7. The Minister will arrange with the municipal taxation authority to exempt the Co-operative from its tax levies for a period of five years after which time the Minister may in his discretion recommend an extension of the tax exemption for a period not exceeding five years.
8. During the first two years of this Agreement the Minister will at the request of the Co-operative supply to it posts, barbed wire and staples (free of charge) for the purpose of the Co-operative erecting fences along any of the surveyed boundaries of the said lands but the Minister may limit the amount of any fence material supplied at any one time until he is satisfied that the material supplied has been or is being used for the specified purpose. No fence erected may have more than four strands of wire.
9. In the event that the Co-operative ceases to exist or is dissolved for failure of descendants the said lands shall revert to Her Majesty the Queen in right of the Province of Alberta who hereby undertakes to hold the said lands in trust for the use and benefit of the surviving native settlers and the descendants of the native settlers who were given land in the Grande Cache district under Agreements between their legal associations and Her Majesty the Queen in right of the Province of Alberta, which Agreements were executed contemporaneously hereto.
10. It is hereby mutually agreed and understood that the lands given under this Agreement are accepted by the Co-operative, and the individual members thereof, in full and final settlement of all their land claims against Her Majesty the Queen in right of the Province of Alberta.
11. The covenants and agreements herein contained shall be binding upon and apply and enure to the benefit of the heirs, executors, administrators and successors of the parties hereto respectively.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the said parties have hereunto  
set their hands and seals on the 28 day of May, A.D. 1973.

  
for MINISTER OF LANDS AND FORESTS



Allen Joseph

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SUSA CREEK CO-OPERATIVE  
LIMITED

Heenan Waymire  
PRESIDENT

Malcolm Matherly  
SECRETARY



## AFFIDAVID OF EXECUTION

I, ALLAN BACHAN of the Town of  
GRANDE CACHE in the Province of Alberta, MAKE OATH AND SAY:

1. I was personally present and did see the persons named as President and Secretary in the within Agreement duly sign and execute the same for the purposes named therein.
2. That the same was executed at the Town of Grande Cache, in the Province of Alberta, and that I am the subscribing witness thereto.
3. That I know the said President and Secretary and each is in my belief of the full age of eighteen years.
4. That I first truly, distinctly, and audibly explained to the said President and Secretary the contents of the within Agreement in their native language and that the President and Secretary appeared to understand the same.

SWORN before me at )  
 in the Province of Alberta )  
 this 12 day of May, A.D. )  
 1973. )

[Signature] )  
 A Commissioner for Oaths in and )  
 for the Province of Alberta )

[Signature]





(APPROX. 1,100 ACRES)



## MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

B E T W E E N:

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN in right  
of the Province of Alberta, as  
represented by the Minister of  
Lands and Forests, (hereinafter  
referred to as the 'Minister'),

OF THE FIRST PART,

- and -

WANYANDIE CO-OPERATIVE LIMITED  
of Grande Cache, Alberta, with  
its Head Office at Grande Cache,  
Alberta, (hereinafter referred  
to as the 'Co-operative'),

OF THE SECOND PART.

WHEREAS negotiations for the acquisition of public  
lands by the Grande Cache area native settlers have taken  
place; and

WHEREAS the settlers of the Wanyandie area have  
formed the Co-operative; and

WHEREAS it has been mutually agreed that the Co-operative  
should be given title to certain tracts of lands, pursuant to  
section 21 of The Public Lands Act, subject to the provisions  
hereof;

NOW THEREFORE the parties hereto agree as follows:

1. As a condition precedent to this Agreement the  
Co-operative shall adopt and register with the  
Registrar of Companies a By-Law restricting the  
membership in the Co-operative to the native settlers  
who settled in the Grande Cache district before the





year 1960, their husbands and wives and natural and lawfully adopted children and their descendants; their lawful husbands, wives and natural and lawfully adopted children from generation to generation. The interest of any child shall be held by his/her next-of-kin in trust and shall neither mature nor vest until such child attains the age of majority.

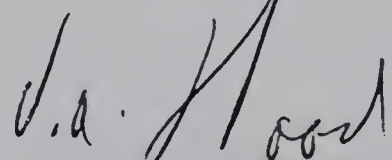
2. The By-Law referred to in paragraph 1 shall remain in force and effect permanently, being a condition which must be fulfilled to entitle the Co-operative to continue to hold title to the lands after acquiring the said title.
3. The lands referred to herein when surveyed will be approximately the lands colored yellow in the sketch map marked "Appendix A", (all being in Township 58, Ranges 7 and 8, and Township 59, Ranges 6 and 7, West of the 6th Meridian) subject to all existing lesser interests therein, reserving thereout all mines, minerals, and excepting thereout all surveyed roadways and right-of-ways.
4. After completion of the land survey the Minister will cause to be issued a title in the name of the Co-operative, as aforesaid, and further subject to the Minister's Caveat protecting the Minister's interest provided for by this Agreement.
5. It is mutually agreed that the Co-operative shall have no right to convey to anyone any interest in any of the said lands without first obtaining an Order of the Lieutenant Governor in Council authorizing the proposed conveyance, but this provision shall not preclude the Co-operative from making any special arrangements as to the use of the lands by the members of the Co-operative.
6. In the event that the Co-operative desires to sell any of the said lands, the Province of Alberta shall have the first option to purchase the lands being offered for sale, the price to be mutually agreed upon, failing which each party shall appoint an arbitrator who in turn shall select a third arbitrator to form an arbitration committee for the purpose of determining a fair market price. The said arbitration shall be governed by the provisions of The Arbitration Act.





7. The Minister will arrange with the municipal taxation authority to exempt the Co-operative from its tax levies for a period of five years after which time the Minister may in his discretion recommend an extension of the tax exemption for a period not exceeding five years.
8. During the first two years of this Agreement the Minister will at the request of the Co-operative supply to it posts, barbed wire and staples (free of charge) for the purpose of the Co-operative erecting fences along any of the surveyed boundaries of the said lands but the Minister may limit the amount of any fence material supplied at any one time until he is satisfied that the material supplied has been or is being used for the specified purpose. No fence erected may have more than four strands of wire.
9. In the event that the Co-operative ceases to exist or is dissolved for failure of descendants the said lands shall revert to Her Majesty the Queen in right of the Province of Alberta who hereby undertakes to hold the said lands in trust for the use and benefit of the surviving native settlers and the descendants of the native settlers who were given land in the Grande Cache district under Agreements between their legal associations and Her Majesty the Queen in right of the Province of Alberta, which Agreements were executed contemporaneously hereto.
10. It is hereby mutually agreed and understood that the lands given under this Agreement are accepted by the Co-operative, and the individual members thereof, in full and final settlement of all their land claims against Her Majesty the Queen in right of the Province of Alberta.
11. The covenants and agreements herein contained shall be binding upon and apply and enure to the benefit of the heirs, executors, administrators and successors of the parties hereto respectively.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the said parties have hereunto set their hands and seals on the 28 day of May, A.D. 1973.

  
for MINISTER OF LANDS AND FORESTS



*Alan Jordan*

390

WANYANDIE CO-OPERATIVE  
LIMITED

*Kelly Jordan*  
PRESIDENT

*Ton Wanyandie*  
SECRETARY



## AFFIDAVID OF EXECUTION

I, Allen Joachim of the Town of Grande Cache in the Province of Alberta, MAKE OATH AND SAY:

1. I was personally present and did see the persons named as President and Secretary in the within Agreement duly sign and execute the same for the purposes named therein.
2. That the same was executed at the Town of Grande Cache, in the Province of Alberta, and that I am the subscribing witness thereto.
3. That I know the said President and Secretary and each is in my belief of the full age of eighteen years.
4. That I first truly, distinctly, and audibly explained to the said President and Secretary the contents of the within Agreement in their native language and that the President and Secretary appeared to understand the same.

SWORN before me at )  
 in the Province of Alberta )  
 this 10 day of May, A.D. )  
 1973. )

Allen Joachim  
 A Commissioner for Oaths in and  
 for the Province of Alberta )

Allen Joachim





(APPROX. 650 ACRES)

(APPROX. 200 ACRES)

BUILDINGS

BUILDINGS  
AND CORRAL

ANIELS  
FLATS

## CROSSING

(c)



## MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

B E T W E E N:

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN in right of the Province of Alberta, as represented by the Minister of Lands and Forests, (hereinafter referred to as the 'Minister'),

OF THE FIRST PART,

- and -

MUSKEEG SEEPEE CO-OPERATIVE LIMITED of Box 272, Grande Cache, Alberta, with its Head Office at Muskeg River, Alberta, (hereinafter referred to as the 'Co-operative'),

OF THE SECOND PART.

WHEREAS negotiations for the acquisition of public lands by the Grande Cache area native settlers have taken place; and

WHEREAS the settlers of the Muskeg River area have formed the Co-operative; and

WHEREAS it has been mutually agreed that the Co-operative should be given title to certain tracts of lands, pursuant to section 21 of The Public Lands Act, subject to the provisions hereof;

NOW THEREFORE the parties hereto agree as follows:

1. As a condition precedent to this Agreement the Co-operative shall adopt and register with the Registrar of Companies a By-Law restricting the membership in the Co-operative to the native settlers who settled in the Grande Cache district before the





year 1960, their husbands and wives and natural and lawfully adopted children and their descendants; their lawful husbands, wives and natural and lawfully adopted children from generation to generation. The interest of any child shall be held by his/her next-of-kin in trust and shall neither mature nor vest until such child attains the age of majority.

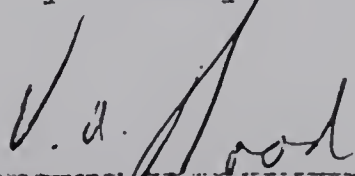
2. The By-Law referred to in paragraph 1 shall remain in force and effect permanently, being a condition which must be fulfilled to entitle the Co-operative to continue to hold title to the lands after acquiring the said title.
3. The lands referred to herein when surveyed will be approximately the lands colored yellow in the sketch map marked "Appendix A", (all being in Township 57, Range 5, West of the 6th Meridian) subject to all existing lesser interests therein, reserving thereout all mines, minerals, and excepting thereout all surveyed roadways and right-of-ways.
4. After completion of the land survey the Minister will cause to be issued a title in the name of the Co-operative, as aforesaid, and further subject to the Minister's Caveat protecting the Minister's interest provided for by this Agreement.
5. It is mutually agreed that the Co-operative shall have no right to convey to anyone any interest in any of the said lands without first obtaining an Order of the Lieutenant Governor in Council authorizing the proposed conveyance, but this provision shall not preclude the Co-operative from making any special arrangements as to the use of the lands by the members of the Co-operative.
6. In the event that the Co-operative desires to sell any of the said lands, the Province of Alberta shall have the first option to purchase the lands being offered for sale, the price to be mutually agreed upon, failing which each party shall appoint an arbitrator who in turn shall select a third arbitrator to form an arbitration committee for the purpose of determining a fair market price. The said arbitration shall be governed by the provisions of The Arbitration Act.





7. The Minister will arrange with the municipal taxation authority to exempt the Co-operative from its tax levies for a period of five years after which time the Minister may in his discretion recommend an extension of the tax exemption for a period not exceeding five years.
8. During the first two years of this Agreement the Minister will at the request of the Co-operative supply to it posts, barbed wire and staples (free of charge) for the purpose of the Co-operative erecting fences along any of the surveyed boundaries of the said lands but the Minister may limit the amount of any fence material supplied at any one time until he is satisfied that the material supplied has been or is being used for the specified purpose. No fence erected may have more than four strands of wire.
9. In the event that the Co-operative ceases to exist or is dissolved for failure of descendants the said lands shall revert to Her Majesty the Queen in right of the Province of Alberta who hereby undertakes to hold the said lands in trust for the use and benefit of the surviving native settlers and the descendants of the native settlers who were given land in the Grande Cache district under Agreements between their legal associations and Her Majesty the Queen in right of the Province of Alberta, which Agreements were executed contemporaneously hereto.
10. It is hereby mutually agreed and understood that the lands given under this Agreement are accepted by the Co-operative, and the individual members thereof, in full and final settlement of all their land claims against Her Majesty the Queen in right of the Province of Alberta.
11. The covenants and agreements herein contained shall be binding upon and apply and enure to the benefit of the heirs, executors, administrators and successors of the parties hereto respectively.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the said parties have herunto  
set their hands and seals on the 18 day of May, A.D. 1973.

  
MINISTER OF LANDS AND FORESTS



Alan Joseph

396

MUSKEEG SEEPPE CO-OPERATIVE  
LIMITED

Deane F. Lindberg  
PRESIDENT

Paul M. Moberg  
SECRETARY



## AFFIDAVID OF EXECUTION

I, ALLAN JOATH of the Town of  
GRANDE CACHE in the Province of Alberta, MAKE OATH AND SAY.

1. I was personally present and did see the persons named as President and Secretary in the within Agreement duly sign and execute the same for the purposes named therein.
2. That the same was executed at the Town of Grande Cache, in the Province of Alberta, and that I am the subscribing witness thereto.
3. That I know the said President and Secretary and each is in my belief of the full age of eighteen years.
4. That I first truly, distinctly, and audibly explained to the said President and Secretary the contents of the within Agreement in their native language and that the President and Secretary appeared to understand the same.

SWORN before me at )

in the Province of Alberta )

this 12 day of May, A.D. )

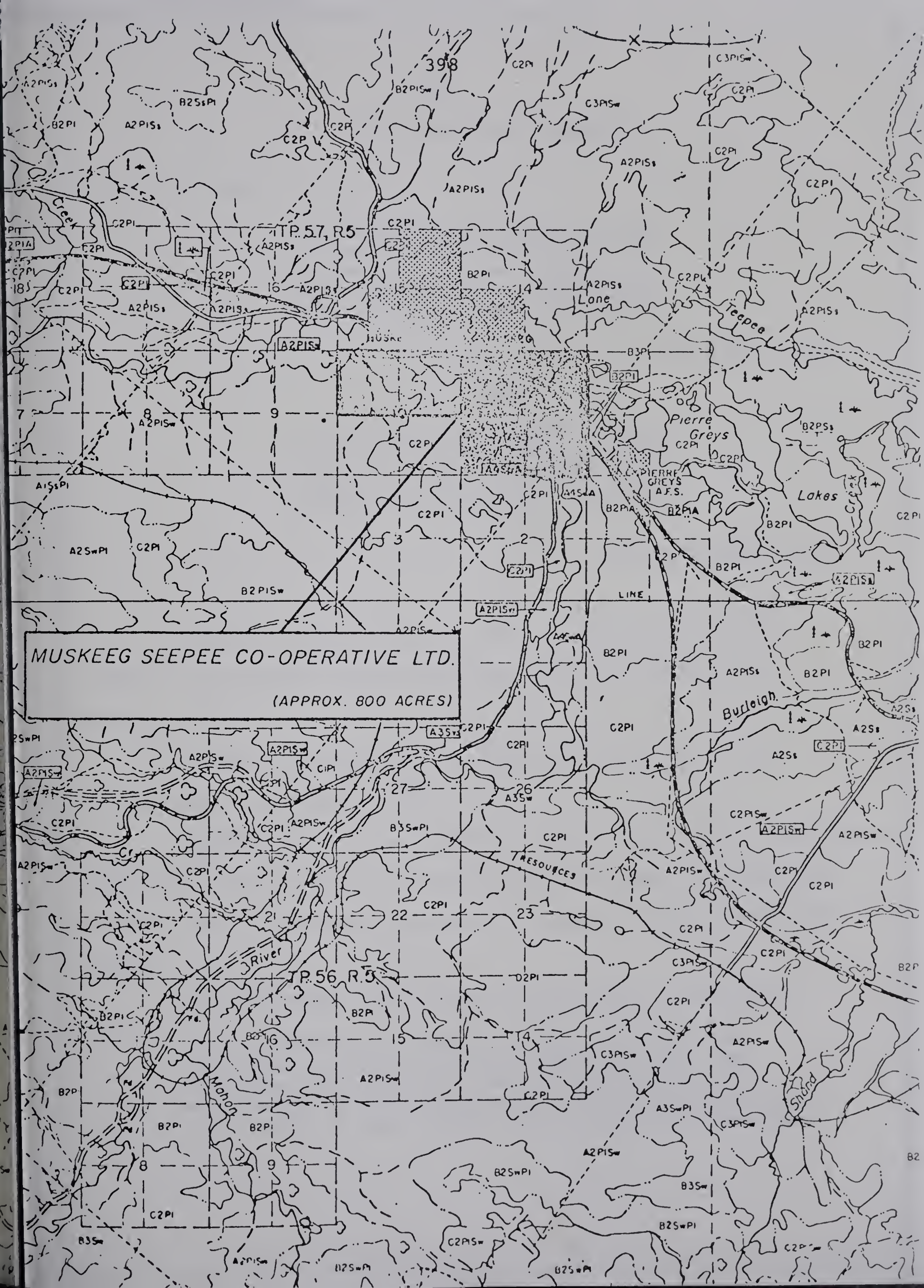
1973. )

[Signature] )  
 A Commissioner for Oaths in and  
 for the Province of Alberta )

[Signature: Allan Joath]









## MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

B E T W E E N:

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN in right of the Province of Alberta, as represented by the Minister of Lands and Forests, (hereinafter referred to as the 'Minister'),

OF THE FIRST PART,

- and -

VICTOR LAKE CO-OPERATIVE LIMITED of Grande Cache, Alberta, with its Head Office at Grande Cache, Alberta, (hereinafter referred to as the 'Co-operative'),

OF THE SECOND PART.

WHEREAS negotiations for the acquisition of public lands by the Grande Cache area native settlers have taken place; and

WHEREAS the settlers of the Victor Lake area have formed the Co-operative; and

WHEREAS it has been mutually agreed that the Co-operative should be given title to certain tracts of lands, pursuant to section 21 of The Public Lands Act, subject to the provisions hereof;

NOW THEREFORE the parties hereto agree as follows:

1. As a condition precedent to this Agreement the Co-operative shall adopt and register with the Registrar of Companies a By-Law restricting the membership in the Co-operative to the native settlers who settled in the Grande Cache district before the





year 1960, their husbands and wives and natural and lawfully adopted children and their descendants; their lawful husbands, wives and natural and lawfully adopted children from generation to generation. The interest of any child shall be held by his/her next-of-kin in trust and shall neither mature nor vest until such child attains the age of majority.

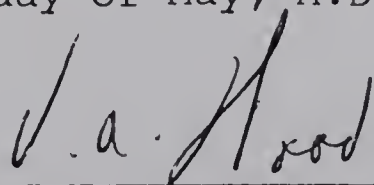
2. The By-Law referred to in paragraph 1 shall remain in force and effect permanently, being a condition which must be fulfilled to entitle the Co-operative to continue to hold title to the lands after acquiring the said title.
3. The lands referred to herein when surveyed will be approximately the lands colored yellow in the sketch map marked "Appendix A", (all being in Township 56, Range 8, West of the 6th Meridian) subject to all existing lesser interests therein, reserving thereout all mines, minerals, and excepting thereout all surveyed roadways and right-of-ways.
4. After completion of the land survey the Minister will cause to be issued a title in the name of the Co-operative, as aforesaid, and further subject to the Minister's Caveat protecting the Minister's interest provided for by this Agreement.
5. It is mutually agreed that the Co-operative shall have no right to convey to anyone any interest in any of the said lands without first obtaining an Order of the Lieutenant Governor in Council authorizing the proposed conveyance, but this provision shall not preclude the Co-operative from making any special arrangements as to the use of the lands by the members of the Co-operative.
6. In the event that the Co-operative desires to sell any of the said lands, the Province of Alberta shall have the first option to purchase the lands being offered for sale, the price to be mutually agreed upon, failing which each party shall appoint an arbitrator who in turn shall select a third arbitrator to form an arbitration committee for the purpose of determining a fair market price. The said arbitration shall be governed by the provisions of The Arbitration Act.





7. The Minister will arrange with the municipal taxation authority to exempt the Co-operative from its tax levies for a period of five years after which time the Minister may in his discretion recommend an extension of the tax exemption for a period not exceeding five years.
8. During the first two years of this Agreement the Minister will at the request of the Co-operative supply to it posts, barbed wire and staples (free of charge) for the purpose of the Co-operative erecting fences along any of the surveyed boundaries of the said lands but the Minister may limit the amount of any fence material supplied at any one time until he is satisfied that the material supplied has been or is being used for the specified purpose. No fence erected may have more than four strands of wire.
9. In the event that the Co-operative ceases to exist or is dissolved for failure of descendants the said lands shall revert to Her Majesty the Queen in right of the Province of Alberta who hereby undertakes to hold the said lands in trust for the use and benefit of the surviving native settlers and the descendants of the native settlers who were given land in the Grande Cache district under Agreements between their legal associations and Her Majesty the Queen in right of the Province of Alberta, which Agreements were executed contemporaneously hereto.
10. It is hereby mutually agreed and understood that the lands given under this Agreement are accepted by the Co-operative, and the individual members thereof, in full and final settlement of all their land claims against Her Majesty the Queen in right of the Province of Alberta.
11. The covenants and agreements herein contained shall be binding upon and apply and enure to the benefit of the heirs, executors, administrators and successors of the parties hereto respectively.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the said parties have hereunto  
set their hands and seals on the 28 day of May, A.D. 1973.

  
for MINISTER OF LANDS AND FORESTS



402

VICTOR LAKE CO-OPERATIVE  
LIMITED

*Charles DeLano*  
\_\_\_\_\_  
PRESIDENT

*Don H. Cook*  
\_\_\_\_\_  
SECRETARY



## AFFIDAVID OF EXECUTION

I, Alhans Bachman of the Town of  
GRANDE CACHE in the Province of Alberta, MAKE OATH AND SAY:

1. I was personally present and did see the persons named as President and Secretary in the within Agreement duly sign and execute the same for the purposes named therein.
2. That the same was executed at the Town of Grande Cache, in the Province of Alberta, and that I am the subscribing witness thereto.
3. That I know the said President and Secretary and each is in my belief of the full age of eighteen years.
4. That I first truly, distinctly, and audibly explained to the said President and Secretary the contents of the within Agreement in their native language and that the President and Secretary appeared to understand the same.

SWORN before me at )

in the Province of Alberta )

this 12 day of May, A.D. )

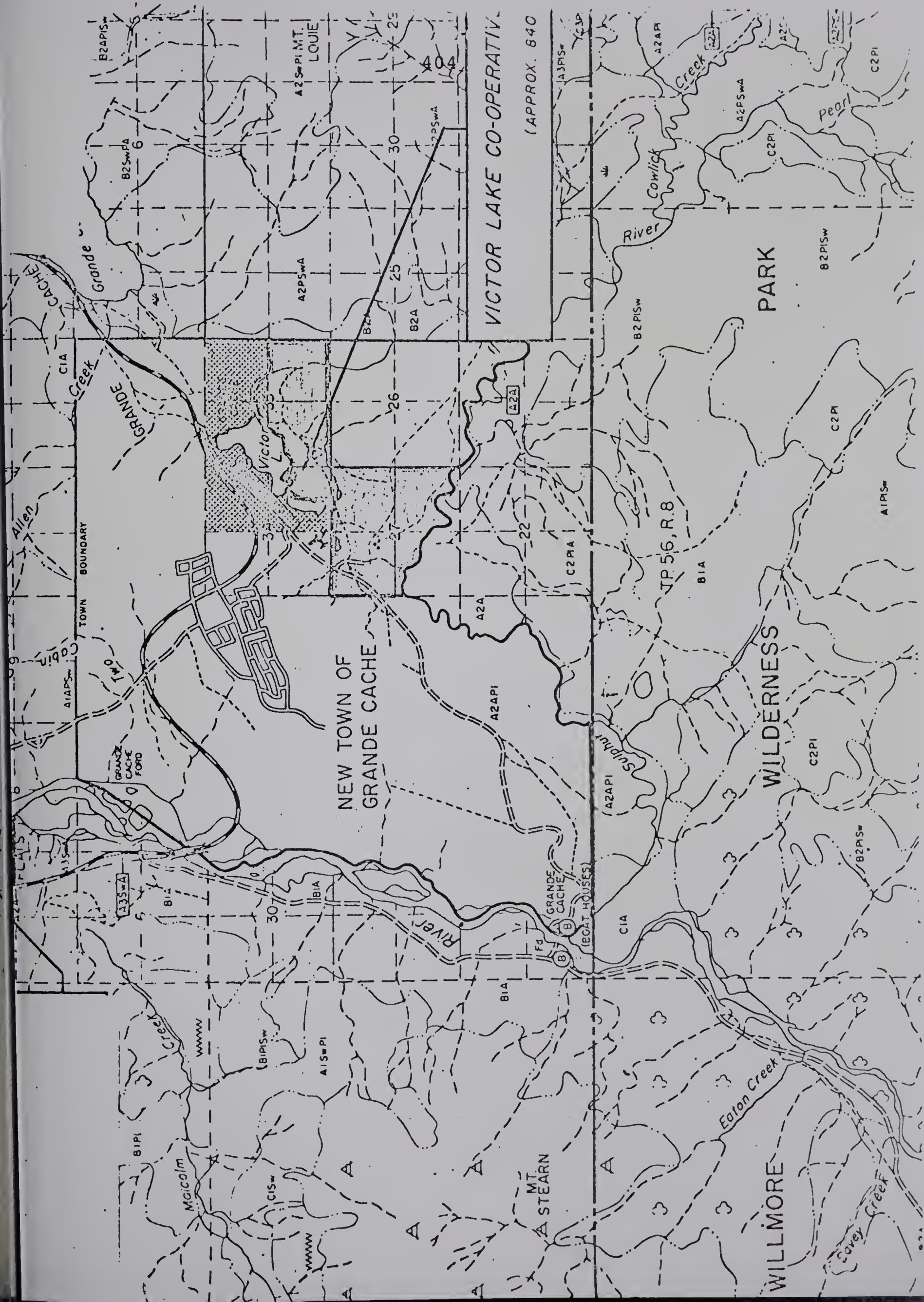
1973. )

Alhans Bachman  
 A Commissioner for Oaths in and  
 for the Province of Alberta )

Alan J. Saelin









APPENDIX III

ALBERTA NEW TOWNS ACT



## THE NEW TOWNS ACT

## CHAPTER 258

- Short Title      1. This Act may be cited as The New Towns Act (1969, c. 81, s. 1).
- Definitions      2. In this Act,
- (a) "board of administrators" means the board of administrators of a new town;
  - (b) "elector" means a person qualified to vote at an election or at the taking of a vote, as the case may be;
  - (c) "Minister" means the Minister of Municipal Affairs;
  - (d) "new town" means a new town constituted pursuant to this Act;
  - (e) "town" means a town within the meaning of The Municipal Government Act (1969, c. 81, s. 2).
- Establishment of new town      3. (1) Application for the formation of a new town shall be made to the Provincial Planning Board.
- (2) The applicant shall file with the Provincial Planning Board such information as it may require to determine whether establishment of a new town is necessary, practical and in the public interest, and to assist in that determination the Board may require
- (a) such facts as may prove the necessity for establishment and development of a new town,





- (b) surveys, plans, maps and aerial photographs indicating the physical and topographical features of the proposed new town and its relationship to adjoining and nearby areas.
- (c) economic planning studies of the proposed new town including costs of land acquisition, utilities and other services, and
- (d) estimated selling prices of developed lots for industrial, commercial, and residential uses (1969, c. 81, s. 3).

Functions of  
Provincial  
Planning Board

4. (1) On receipt of an application for the formation of a new town, the Provincial Planning Board may
  - (a) give such notice as it considers necessary of the application,
  - (b) cause a public hearing to be held at which any person may make representation with regard to the application,
  - (c) refer the application to the Local Authorities Board for its recommendations on the financial aspects thereof and that Board may require the applicant to file with it certain material and may hold a hearing thereon, and
  - (d) engage consultants or technical experts to report to it on any phase of the development of the proposed new town.
- (2) After making such enquiries as it considers necessary, the Provincial Planning Board shall make such recommendations as it believes proper and necessary in each case (1969, c. 81, s. 4).



Order  
establishing  
new town

5. (1) Where the Provincial Planning Board recommends the formation of a new town, the Lieutenant Governor in Council may, by order, form the new town.

(2) The order forming a new town

(a) shall describe the boundaries of the new town,

(b) shall give a name to the new town in the following form: "The New Town of .....", and

(c) shall state the date upon which the order becomes effective (1969, c. 81, s. 5).

Transfer of  
rights and  
liabilities

6. (1) When a new town has been established, rights, debts, liabilities, taxes and all other assets including property of the former municipality in and of the area of the new town pass to the new town and section 23 of The Municipal Government Act applies mutatis mutandis thereto.

(2) Where a new town is established in the place of an existing town or village, the council of the town or village shall act as the board of administrators of the new town and shall continue in office until such time as the board of administrators has been appointed under this Act.

(3) All by-laws and resolutions in force and effect in a town or village that has been established as a new town continue in force and effect in the new town until amended or repealed by the board of administrators.

(4) All suits and rights of action by or against a town or village at the date of its being established a new town may be continued or maintained by or against the new town (1969, c. 81, s. 6).



Board of administrators 7. (1) A new town shall have a board of administrators.

(2) The board of administrators and the electors of every new town are a corporation with the name given the new town in the order forming it.

(3) A board of administrators has and shall exercise all the rights, duties, privileges and powers conferred on a council of a town including, without restricting the generality of the foregoing, the power to levy and collect taxes (1969, c. 81, s. 7).

Membership of board of administrators 8. (1) A board of administrators shall consist of one or more members, not exceeding seven in number, and may be composed of any or all of the following:

- (a) employees of the Government;
- (b) residents within the area of the new town;
- (c) representatives of agencies, organizations, companies, or municipalities operating in or having jurisdiction near the new town.

(2) The members of the board of administrators shall be appointed by the Minister, except for such number of members as the Minister may decide shall be elected by the electors of the new town.

(3) An elected member shall serve for the term specified in the Minister's order and an appointed member shall serve during the pleasure of the Minister.





(4) When the office of an elected member becomes vacant before the expiry of his term, the Minister may appoint a person to the board of administrators to complete the term of the office that is vacant.

(5) When the Minister has by order provided that one or more of the members shall be elected, the appointed members shall act as the board of administrators until the election has taken place.

(6) An election ordered by the Minister under this section shall be conducted under the Municipal Election Act, which applies mutatis mutandis thereto (1969, c. 81, s. 8).

Chairman of  
board of  
administrators

9. (1) The Minister shall appoint one of the members of a board of administrators to be chairman thereof.

(2) The chairman of a board of administrators is the chief executive officer of a new town and is vested with all rights, duties, privileges and powers of the mayor of a town, except otherwise provided for in this Act (1969, c. 81, s. 9).

Fees and  
allowances

10. (1) A board of administrators may provide for the payment to its members of fees and allowances for attendance at board meetings and committees thereof or performing additional duties.

(2) A board of administrators may provide for the payment to its members of reasonable allowances for travelling, subsistence, and out-of-pocket expenses incurred in attending meetings affecting the new town.

(3) The salaries, expenses and travelling allowances of employees of the Government serving on a board of administrators shall be paid by the department of which he is an employee (1969, c. 81, s. 10).



## Employees

11. (1) A board of administrators shall, pursuant to The Municipal Government Act, appoint

(a) a municipal secretary, or

(b) a municipal treasurer, or

(c) a municipal secretary-treasurer.

(2) a person appointed under this section is hereby vested with all the rights, duties, privileges and powers of a secretary, treasurer, or secretary-treasurer of a town.

(3) A board of administrators may provide for the appointment of such other officials as it considers necessary for the efficient operation of the new town (1969, c. 81, s. 11).

## Planning and

12. (1) As soon as possible after its appointment, a board of administrators shall submit to the Provincial Planning Board for its approval, comprehensive plans and proposals for the planning and development of the new town.

(2) The proposals shall be in the nature and form of the proposals that a council of a town may make by means of a general plan under The Planning Act.

(3) To assist a board of administrators in the preparation of proposals for the planning and orderly development of a new town and to ensure that its planning and development will be consistent and co-ordinated with the planning of adjacent areas, the Provincial Planning Board may require the proposals be prepared on behalf of the board of administrators by

(a) a regional planning commission having jurisdiction in the area, or



(b) professional planning consultants engaged by the board of administrators, or

(c) the staff of the Provincial Planning Director.

(4) The proposals for the planning and orderly development of a new town may from time to time be added to, amended or rescinded by

(a) order of the Provincial Planning Board, or

(b) the board of administrators with the approval of the Provincial Planning Board (1969, c. 81, s. 12).

Planning  
and  
Development

12. (1) As soon as possible after its appointment, a board of administrators shall submit to the Provincial Planning Board for its approval comprehensive plans and proposals for the planning and development of the new town.

(2) The proposals shall be in the nature and form of the proposals that a council of a town may make by means of a general plan under The Planning Act.

(3) To assist a board of administrators in the preparation of proposals for the planning and orderly development of a new town and to ensure that its planning and development will be consistent and co-ordinated with the planning of adjacent areas, the Provincial Planning Board may require the proposals be prepared on behalf of the board of administrators by

(a) a regional planning commission having jurisdiction in the area, or

(b) professional planning consultants engaged by the board of administrators, or





(c) the staff of the Provincial Planning Director.

(4) The proposals for the planning and orderly development of a new town may from time to time be added to, amended or rescinded by

(a) order of the Provincial Planning Board, or

(b) the board of administrators with the approval of the Provincial Planning Board (1969, c. 81, s. 12).

Additional powers of board of administrators

13. A board of administrators may, with the consent of the Planning Board,

(a) acquire by expropriation or otherwise, and for any municipal purpose, land either within or outside the new town,

(b) enter into agreements with private land owners or proposed developers of land within the new town, with regard to the subdivision of land, the provision of utilities, streets, sidewalks and other services, the selling price of lots and the method by which lots will be offered for sale,

(c) prohibit any owner or developer of land from subdividing, selling or developing land until such an agreement as mentioned in clause (b) is entered into, and

(d) provide, by the construction and operation of trailer camps, campgrounds and like facilities, for the temporary housing and shelter of residents of the new town (1969, c. 81, s. 13).



- |   |  |
|---|--|
| Approval of expenditures                  | 14. Except for the immediate and urgent needs of a new town, a board of administrators shall not expend any moneys, undertake any works, make any agreements with land owners or developers or do any other matter or thing until its proposal for the planning and development of the new town has been approved by the Provincial Planning Board (1969, c. 81, s. 14). |
| Approval of financial program             | 15. Except for the immediate and urgent needs of a new town, the board of administrators of a new town shall not obtain any loans or advances, expend any moneys, pass any money bylaw or issue any debenture until the financial program of that year has been approved by order of the Local Authorities Board (1969, c. 81, s. 15).                                   |
| Vote not required                         | 16. Notwithstanding anything in this or any other Act, no vote of the proprietary electors on any bylaw for the expenditure of money, the issuance of debentures or for any other matter or thing shall take place or be required except in the case of an election of members of the board of administrators (1969, c. 81, s. 16).                                      |
| Local improvements                        | 17. Notwithstanding anything in any other Act, a board of administrators, without petition and without advertising its intention to do so, may undertake any local improvement described in The Municipal Taxation Act and may impose therefore a special frontage or special local benefit assessment (1969, c. 81, s. 17).   |
| Responsibility of board of administrators | 18. A board of administrators is responsible <div style="margin-left: 40px;">           (a) to the Provincial Planning Board with regard to all matters relating to the planning and development of the new town, and         </div>   |



- (b) to the Local Authorities Board with regard to all matters relating to the financing of the new town's development and operation,

and shall carry out any instructions with regard to these matters that either of those Boards issue from time to time (1969, c. 81, s. 18).

Current and  
Capital  
Expenditures

19. (1) The Lieutenant Governor in Council may, upon the establishment of a new town and from time to time thereafter, pay to the board of administrators of any new town out of the General Revenue Fund and without any further or other appropriation than is provided by this section, such sums as will enable the board of administrators to meet all authorized current and capital expenditures that may be required for development and operation of the town.

(2) The sums under subsection (1) may be

- (a) by grant, or
- (b) by advance or loan, or
- (c) by the purchase of debentures of the new town.

(3) Any sum advanced or loaned by the Government is a debt due by the new town to the Government and shall be repaid by the new town.

(4) The lieutenant Governor in Council may specify the terms of repayment or retirement of moneys advanced or loaned under this section (1969, c. 81, s. 19).

Financial  
Program

20. As soon as possible in each year the board of administrators of a new town shall submit to the Local Authorities Board a financial program for that year which shall include particulars of its estimates of

- (a) general revenues and expenditures,
- (b) capital revenues and expenditures,
- (c) utilities revenues and expenditures,
- (d) population growth, and
- (e) the amount of its taxable assessment (1969, c. 81, s. 20).







- Other Acts      21. Except where inconsistent with this Act, a new town shall be deemed to be a town for the purpose of any other Act (1969, c. 81, s. 21).
- Change in Status      22. (1) Upon arrangements being made for the repayment or retirement of all special loans and advances made to a new town by the Government under this Act, the Lieutenant Governor in Council may provide
- (a) for the formation of the new town into a city, town, or village, or
  - (b) for the dissolution of the new town and the inclusion of the area thereof in some other municipality.
- (2) The formation of a new town into a city, town or village shall take place in accordance with the requirements of population or the number of occupied dwellings, as the case may be, as are specified in The Municipal Government Act.
- (3) Dissolution of a new town shall take place in accordance with the requirements of the Municipal Government Act (1969, c. 81, s. 22).
- Regulations      23. (1) The Lieutenant Governor in Council may make regulations to provide for any matter not provided for or insufficiently provided for in this Act.
- (2) The Lieutenant Governor in Council may exclude any Act or provision thereof from application to a new town (1969, c. 81, s. 23).



## APPENDIX IV

### CHRONOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT

After: Van Dyke and Scambler, 1973. A Short History of the New Town of Grande Cache. Applied Research Associates.



## Chronology of Development

1908 - 1912

Large influx of native settlers from Jasper Park into Grande Cache area.

1909

Coal prospecting first done along the Smoky River by men of the Canadian Northern Railway.

1914 - 1918

Search for coal in the area reached a peak with claims being established on most of the known coal occurrences between Sheep Creek and the Wildhog River.

May 5, 1930

Mr. D. M. Kennedy, M. P. for Peace River, discusses at length in the House of Commons, the need for a railway into the Peace River Area.

1931

A Metis Association was formed by the native people in the Grande Cache area and a meeting was held in Edmonton for the purpose of presenting a land claim to the Government of Alberta.

1967

A motor road was completed from Entrance to a wildcat oil well drilled near the Muskeg River.

September 13, 1956

Blue Diamond Mine leases transferred to McIntyre-Porcupine Mines Ltd.

1957

Provincial government became involved in offering health care to the metis of Grande Cache.

August 11, 1958

First school opened on a part-time basis at Muskeg.

1959

The Muskeg road was connected with a forestry road which was build south from Highway 34, east of Grande Prairie.





1959 - 1963

Columbia Iron did exploration work headed by Dr. K. K. Landes under an option to purchase leases from McIntyre Porcupine.

Early 1960s

Alberta Government suggested that the natives move to an established Metis colony.

September, 1961

Muskeg School open on a full-time basis.

April 10, 1962

President John F. Kennedy prevails in restraining the United States Steel Industry from a planned six dollars per ton increase in the price of steel.

February 18, 1965

Construction of the Alberta Resources Railroad is promised in the Throne Speech opening the second session of the Fifteenth Alberta Legislature.

March, 1965

Provincial Planning Board takes note of possible Development in the area and starts Co-ordination of Planning for these developments.

October 1, 1965

An agreement is signed between the Alberta Resources Railway Corporation and the Canadian National Railways authorizing the building of the railway.

March, 1966

Provincial Planning Board orders the Provincial Planning Branch to undertake a study regarding need and site locations for a new townsite.

August 30, 1966

Pursuant to an Order-in-Council, no. 1605/66, the New Town of Grande Cache is established, effective September 1, 1966.



September 9, 1966

The first meeting of the Board of Administration of the New Town of Grande Cache is held in Edmonton.

1968

Muskeg School is moved to Suza Creek.

March, 1969

Initial clearing of trees and bush from the building sites.

Preparation of primary road systems within the townsite is commenced.

Telephone service provided by Alberta Government Telephones.

April, 1969

House construction is commenced on 170 units.

Sewer and water lines started for stage one area.

May 26, 1969

First meeting of the Government Co-ordinating Committee held.

May 28, 1969

Premier Harry Strom drove the last spike in a ceremony marking the completion of the A.R.R. in Grande Prairie.

June, 1969

First phase of permanent school started in Grande Cache.

July, 1969

Power and gas installations commenced. Initial part of shopping complex started. Ashen and Strand trailer courts started.

July 8, 1969

Pursuant to an Order-in-Council, no. 1228/69, a merger is effected between the Board of Administration of the New Town of Grande Cache and the Board of Trustees of Grande Cache School District No. 5258 into one urban county, effective July 15, 1969. Board of Administration enlarged by one member.

September, 1969

First houses in Stage Two housing and Stage Two water and sewage commenced. Stage One power and gas lines completed. Service station started.



August, 1969

Three major service stations completed. Privately owned, McIntyre financed apartments started.

August 1, 1969

A staff person from Health and Social Development assumes responsibilities in the area.

October, 1969

Remaining 170 Stage Two homes started. Power and gas lines for this area also started. Thirty-four bed hospital started. Shopping center completed. Theater started.

October, 1969

Opening of Grande Cache School System is delayed because of a lack of accomodation, equipment, and teacher housing.

October 28, 1969

Grande Cache School held the first class with over one hundred children.

October 20, 1969

First agreement between the United Steel Workers of America and the Coal Division of McIntyre-Porcupine Mines Ltd.

November, 1969

All 170 houses in Stage Two completed. Beginning of provincial building. Hotel and motel started.

December, 1969

Stage Two water and sewer completed. Trailer courts completed. Hardware, laundromat, sporting goods store started.

December 19, 1969

Honourable J. D. Ross assures Stan Daniels, President of the Metis Association of Alberta, that the government has no intention of moving native people from the Grande Cache area.

December, 1969

250 miners walk off jobs for two days in a dispute with management.

January, 1970

School completed. Hardware, laundromat, sporting goods stores completed.







January, 1970

Minister of Lands and Forests offers a five year rent-free miscellaneous lease to the settlers at Muskeg. The offer is declined.

February, 1970

The majority of town development Stage Two is completed.

February, 1970

500 construction workers walk off their jobs for four days in sympathy with six men who were fired by a sub-constructor. Grievances include:

too much pork on menu

main door of kitchen should be wider

free movies should be provided every night

another ping pong table should be added to the recreation room

February, 1970

McIntyre-Porcupine awarded a three year non-renewable contract for timber cutting,

They, in turn, subcontracted the lease to Kakwa Logging Company, a major employer of native people.

February, 1970

General manager of the mine reports that a study performed by McIntyre-Porcupine regarding food costs showed that Grande Cache prices were twenty-six point three per cent higher than Edmonton and nine point five higher than Hinton.

March, 1970

All Stage Two homes completed. Major hospital fire destroys 80% of the new facility. Motel and hotel completed.

March 19, 1970

Community Services Director hired.

April 21, 1970

A fire training course held by the Alberta Forest Service to train people in fire fighting.

April-June, 1970

New start on hospital. Stage Two power and gas completed. Theater completed.

Field Administrative Officer, Alberta Department of Education announces to the parents of the children in the Muskeg and Suza Creek school districts that effective September, students from these areas would be bussed to school in Grande Cache.



July 24, 1970

Grande Cache Co-ordinator meeting decides to request a price comparison study for the town.

August 14, 1970

The Minister of Lands and Forests appointed a native land tenure committee.

August 21, 1970

Brief regarding "guiding and outfitting" concern presented to Minister of Lands and Forests, by native guides of Grande Cache.

September-October, 1970

Opening of new provincial building. Addition to shopping center started.

Hospital opened on October 15, 1970. Addition to school started. Recreation Center started. Road, gutters, sidewalks, and street lighting 98% complete. Engineering and planning for Stage Three started.

November 2, 1970

Board of Administration was increased in size from three to five members with two additional members to be elected from the residents of Grande Cache.

February, 1971

Grande Cache residents picket local stores in protest over alleged high prices.

February 22, 1971

Premier announces that he has agreed to a government survey of food prices in Grande Cache and other centers.

February 26, 1971

Board of Administration increased in size from five to seven members by electing four added board members and removing two appointed members.

March, 1971

A study of food cases in Grande Cache is compiled by the Department of Municipal Affairs and the Alberta Bureau of Statistics. The study shows that prices in the town compare quite favorably with those in Hinton, Peace River, Grande Prairie, and Edmonton.

May, 1971

A program to train underground miners is begun in Grande Cache.





June, 1971

A report sponsored by the Metis Association of Alberta and prepared by B. G. Copling, highlights possible uses native people consider for their land.

May 24, 1971

The native people gather to elect their own representatives to deal with the land question.

August, 1971

Honourable J. D. Ross offers the forty native families living in the Grande Cache area approximately thirty to forty acres of land per person. The offer is turned down.

October, 1971

Mine workers attempt to take over local unions from the United Steel Workers of America.

October, 1971

Grande Cache teachers strike during this month.

October, 1971

Provision of the Municipal Elections Act for holding a general election were followed to elect six Board members.

December, 1971

Public hearings are held under the auspices of the Environment and Conservation Authority regarding the environmental impact of surface mining in Alberta, including the Grande Cache area.

January, 1972

Provincial Government offers twenty acres each to about two hundred native people.

July 19, 1972

Provincial Government agrees to 4,150 acres of land for native people but the question of Grande Cache Lake settlement remains.

October 18, 1972

Labor Minister, Bert Hohol flew to Grande Cache to investigate a dispute at the mine which suspends operation.





APPENDIX V

PROVINCIAL PLANNING BOARD  
REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS  
TO THE  
LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL  
FOR THE NEW TOWN STATUS  
OF  
GRANDE CACHE, ALBERTA

August, 1966



## 2. NEED FOR NEW TOWN

Urban development is essential in or near the Smoky River-Sheep Creek area in order to facilitate development of coal resources in the locality. These reserves are of high grade coking coal in quantities which are commercially exploitable. At least three companies are interested in mining prospects in the area, two of these being in the exploratory stage. The third, McIntyre Porcupine Mines Ltd. has already leased an extensive area of land - about 31,500 acres - for coal extraction, with a view to starting production around 1970. The company will possibly have an initial contract of ten years with Japanese interests for coal extraction. Initially, one and a half million tons of coal will be produced; this will be raised to about three million tons within three years. The work force needed will at first be some 700 men, by 1973 about 900 men and possibly at a later stage some 1,100 men. An operation of this size cannot be carried out successfully without a reasonable range of urban facilities such as houses, shops and schools being available. This will demand the establishment of a permanent settlement within convenient travelling distance of the coal workings.

Establishment of a town site is now relatively urgent. Development of the coalfield prior to actual coal production will have to start as soon as possible if extraction is to begin by 1970; the mining company's research geologist thinks it may take at least three years to open and develop the mine before the coal can be worked. Both a road and a railway are to be constructed into the coalfield; the railway is now being built and should be completed by October 1967, and in use within a year or so thereafter. The road is still in the planning stage; a possible



being built and should be completed by October 1967; and in use within a year or so thereafter. The road is still in the planning stage; a possible route is to be surveyed in the next few months, the right of way should be cleared this coming winter, and this should be graded in the summer of 1967. The mining company regarded the provision of this road as urgent if its initial usefulness (in development of the coalfield) is not to be lost.

Completion of both these links may speed up and make more urgent the development of a new town to serve the Smoky River coalfield. Rapid development of the coalfield may be expected once it becomes more accessible. The early development of a new town is therefore essential if this is to be properly and fully planned and utilised, and haphazard development is to be avoided.

a. Areal Effects of New Town Establishment

Establishment of a new town could be beneficial in spurring the development of other resources in the locality. Power will be needed for mining operations and for the town itself, and a power station may be built using coal or slag reject from the coalfield. This will increase the possibilities of establishing secondary industries based on local raw material utilisation. To exploit the timber resources to the north, for instance, a pulpmill might be established in or near the town. As noted in an earlier report \* on railway services to this area, the

\* Report of the Provincial Planning Board to the Executive Council.





railway line now under construction would encourage such activity in this area. This would be beneficial to the town, diversifying its economic base. Centralising this industry on the town would prevent the costly haphazard development which might otherwise accompany development of the timber resources. With more continuous activity resulting from controlled extraction of soft timber for lumber, workers would be encouraged to take up more permanent homes near the lumber areas.

Expansion subsidiary to the local coal mining industry might also take place, a remote though not entirely unlikely possibility. Utilisation of coal by-products might be considered. There may even be possibilities for a locally based iron and steel industry. Continuation of the railway through the Smoky River coalfield and up to Grande Prairie is planned; this will bring more within reach the iron ore resources west of Grande Prairie and some 200 miles north of this area. Because of its high value per ton, as compared to similar quantities of coal, it may be found economical to bring the ore southwards for local use. Though such a process may never take place, it at least indicates the possibilities of secondary industries, using other local resources, being established once a basic industry has been developed. With greater exploration, more resources than are at present known to be available or exploitable in this area may come to be used.

Improved communications - the road and the railway - may also give some impetus to the tourist industry in this area which is on the fringe of Willmore Wilderness Park. Related development, such as motels, may thus be attracted. It would be advantageous to concentrate such developments within the townsite itself; a secondary source of income



would thus be assured for the town, whilst tourists would benefit from the availability of urban convenience.



### 3. PROOF OF BEING ECONOMICAL AND IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST

#### a) Resources and Resource Development

##### Water Resources

The area is part of the Athabasca River Branch Basin, and Smoky River Basin, both in turn, form part of the Arctic Water Shed.

In addition to surface water, ground water is common in this general area. Aquifers of considerable size have been reported.

The conservation and utilization of water resources in this area are currently being studied by the Water Resources Branch of the Alberta Department of Agriculture. They have proposed a network of dams and reservoirs which will serve to:

- (1) regulate water flow
- (2) control flooding
- (3) reduce pollution
- (4) divert stream flow

Plans include the diversion of part of the rivers comprising the Arctic water shed into the Hudson Bay system, providing water for more densely populated urban areas, e.g. Edmonton.

Water is one of the most abundant resources in the area and is one of the major items to be considered in attracting new industries.

##### Forestry

Outside the straight extraction of timber produce from the area via Grande Prairie, Whitecourt, Edson and Hinton there are two major timber based industries in the region, the plywood mill at Grande Prairie





and the pulp mill at Hinton. In the very near future the pulp industry will become more important with the construction of the MacMillan Bloedel and Powell River Mill at Whitecourt.

Pulpwood production has become the dominant wood produce of the area and will increase in important with the commencement of operations at Whitecourt. While the value of wood products varies over time, the output in dollars provides an indication of the trend in production.

Volume of Pulpwood and Saw Timber

The tree cover is predominantly pine with aspen forming the second most abundant species. Volume by species and by pulpwood and saw timber is shown in the following table:

VOLUME OF WOOD

Species	Pulpwood (in Cords)	Saw Timber (in MFBM)*
White Spruce	3,033,502	1,993,200
Black Spruce	1,294,453	
Balsam	384,649	108,639
Pine	8,131,591	2,024,415
Aspen	1,960,506	1,147,648
TOTAL	14,804,701	5,273,902
TOTAL CONIFEROUS	12,844,195	4,126,254



Source: Forestry Surveys and Planning Branch

\* MFBM - Thousands of Board Feet

Over fifty per cent of the volume of pulpwood and saw timber is located within the present pulpwood lease areas, and is therefore controlled privately by the pulp companies. A large proportion of the remainder is in the reserve areas, leaving a small fraction of the total volume in areas outside the leases and reservations.

Over an 80 year sustained yield basis, annual potential production of pulp is estimated to be 153,800 cords.

Similarly on a 120 year basis, the annual potential production of saw timber is 37,400 thousands b.f.m.

Pulpwood, in general, refers to trees four to nine inches in diameter and saw timber, in general, refers to trees ten inches and over.

While a pulp mill is to be established at Whitecourt, the major locational factors of water supply and reasonable centrality within the lease area would allow for location of a pulp mill in this area.

The question of construction and operation of two pulp mills in this area depends not only upon the available timber supply within the region, but also very much upon the current and future market. The improvement of the transportation facilities between Hinton and this area would be of prime importance in a potential pulp mill operation in this location.



### Minerals

Oil and Gas: The development of oil and gas resources has occurred in the last ten years.

Figures on the oil and gas reserves in the area are not available at this time.

Employment in the oil and gas industry is highly variable. Drilling operations are sporadic and crews tend to be specialized and highly mobile.

The present production of these resources does not and should not in the immediate future affect a new town in this area.

Coal: Taking the area of Improvement District No. 96 which includes the Willmore Wilderness Park and the surrounding improvement districts the development of natural resources can be summarized:

Thick coal seams are present in the Luscar formation throughout the Sheep Creek Wildhay River district and also along strike to the northwest and southeast. Thin seams, up to 6 inches thick, have been reported in the Dunvegan formation (Thorsteinson, 1952).

Coal which occurs in the Luscar formation is of the same age as deposits which have been mined at Brule, Cadomin, and Luscar in the foothills to the southeast.

Excellent exposures of the Luscar formation are to be found on the slope of Mount Hamell, facing Smoky River, north of Gustavs Flats. Numerous coal seams are visible in this section and also along small tributary creeks of Smoky River.





Thorsteinson (1952) reports 19 seams in a logged section of the upper 958.8 feet of the Luscar formation, but there is only a 1.8 foot seam of "lignitic" coal in the top 401.5 feet. The 18 seams in the next 557.3 feet vary in thickness, between 0.8 and 28.7 feet. During the summer of 1959, a party employed by private interests used a bulldozer to strip a section of the Luscar formation on the west side of Smoky River at Gustavs Flats. Nine coal seams, totalling 71 feet in thickness were exposed in the lower 1,200 feet of the formation. Three of these seams were again exposed near Fox Creek, about two and one-quarter miles to the northeast.

Much more detailed surface and underface work will be required before accurate estimates can be made. However, MacVicar (1924) quotes the following figures, which he regards as conservative:

Possible tonnage, semi-anthracitic and semi-bituminous	58,500,000
Possible tonnage, bituminous	7,000,000,000
	<hr/>
TOTAL	7,058,500,000 tons

McEvoy (1925) estimated the coal reserve of the National Coal Reserve (540 square miles of the Smoky River-Sheep Creek region) to be 3,424,363,000 tons. This figure was obtained by assuming that 73 feet of coal would be mined "to a vertical depth of 2,000 feet below access level".

McIntyre Porcupine Mines who have leased approximately 31,500 acres for coal extraction indicate that approximately 540,000,000 tons of coal reserve are available. 180,000,000 tons of this coal may be economically extractable.



Other companies holding reservations in the immediate area are

- (1) Alberta Export Coal Co. north and west of Porcupine Mines Ltd. with approximately the same area as the Porcupine Lease.
- (2) Pacific Petroleums, Alberta Coal and Canadian Homestead Oil have reservations to the south and east of Grande Cache. They cover an area approximately equal to that of Porcupine Mines and Alberta Export combined.

Gypsum: Large deposits of gypsum exist near the Alberta and British Columbia border in this area. The construction of both railway and road into the area may improve the possibility of the economic extraction of gypsum.

#### Tourism and Recreation

Alberta has a definite resource in the natural beauty and recreational potential of its varied landscape.

There are many areas accessible from Highway 16, if only for a short season. Presently the possible tourist season in the area is short, extending primarily for the first part of June to the first part of September. However, there is no reason why tourist potential could not be developed to attract tourists over a large portion of the year and also persuade them to visit the area over a longer period of time.

Tourist facilities in the area are varied and extensive. The Forest Service maintains recreation areas for the convenience of the public, such as campsites with a variety of facilities. Golf courses are located at Hinton, Edson, Evansburg and Whitecourt. An area close to the town site could be developed for such use. Swimming and boating facilities could also be exploited. The town site is adjacent to Victor



Lake and is close to Grand Cache Lake.

Winter sports have a remendous potential, particularly in the sport of skiing. Edmonton, with an approximate population of 350,000 has one of the largest ski clubs numerically, in Western Canada. However, at present the major ski runs are at Banff and Jasper, both over two hundre miles from Edmonton. Therefore ski development could be well supported in this area. Reliable sources indicate that this area has tremendous potential because of its relative proximity to a large population and because of its immediate development potential.

Curling and skating, more popular with residents, might be provided along with skiing.

Wildlife Resources: The big game population of this area includes moose, deer, elk, bighorn, goat, caribou, grizzly and black bear.

The annual harvestable potential is approximately three times the present harvest. Hunters currently spend approximately \$1,600,000 while hunting in this general region.

The game bird population is also quite extensive and the present harvest again is considerably below the harvest potential.

Trapping for fur bearing animals may also be considered in this area.

Residents in town sites in this area could directly benefit from the wild life resource by :

- (a) supplying hunting equipment and lodging, guides etc.
- (b) and by establishing motels, service station, etc.
- (c) facilities for processing carcasses.





The sport fishing potential in the area is unlimited.

Game questionnaires sent out from the Fish and Wildlife Division indicated that approximately 15% of the hunters who purchased licenses hunted in this region. Assuming an equal percentage for anglers that come into the area, approximately 18,000 of the 120,000 sports fishermen in Alberta might frequent this area. The total expenditure of the sports fishermen would therefore be also quite large. As accommodation, and other facilities are provided for this area the number of recreational uses, and the period of use per person, should climb substantially and would therefore provide considerable revenue to a new town.



1. Description of Sites

Investigation of the area in the vicinity of the coalfield has revealed only one location which would be physically practicable for town development. Most of the country is rugged and mountainous, and quite unsuitable for urban settlement. Some eight or nine miles south of the coalfield, however, near the confluence of the Smoky and Sulphur Rivers, are three possible sites for development, all now undeveloped (see map). The largest and most suitable of these - Site 1, an area of about 1,500 to 1,600 acres - lies east of Smoky River, between it and Victor Lake, and about 700 to 800 feet above the river. The site slopes gently southwards, sheltered on the north by several hills; it comprises fairly even ground with no muskeg or badly drained surfaces.

A smaller site, about half a mile southwest of this - Site 2, 900 to 1,000 acres - is more rugged, and may be poorly drained, having marshy ground on its northern and eastern fringes. About 200 feet lower than Site 1, it also has a generally southerly aspect. Site 3, to the east is only about 500 to 600 acres in size, has muskeg on its fringes, and a few kettle holes, possibly indicating poor drainage in its northern part. Natural tree cover on all three sites would need clearing.

No climatic data is available for this area. Local Indians have indicated, however, that the climate is "relatively mild", as they can graze their ponies outdoors even in winter. This may indeed be so; the sites considered are several hundreds or thousands of feet lower than the surrounding mountain country; hills to the north and south probably protect them from the prevailing wind; they have a generally southerly aspect, so receiving maximal sunlight; and being on higher ground above the river valleys, they do not form frost pockets.



The road and railway to the Smoky River coalfield from the east and southeast have already been mentioned. These link the area of the townsite with Central Alberta via Muskeg and Hinton. The railway, at its nearest point, will pass about five miles away from the town, and so will not really affect local accessibility of the sites relative to one another. However, tentative plans for the Muskeg-Smoky River coalfield highway indicate that it will pass along the northern fringes of Site 1 with the highway. The (Grande Cache) airstrip lies between the site and Victor Lake. An east-west trail along Grande Cache valley continues westwards beyond the airstrip along the southern fringe of Site 1; an extension of this trail into a townsite here, giving access from the town to the airstrip, would be relatively easily graded up to the southwestern part of the site.

Access to the other two sites would be more difficult, both from the airstrip and the proposed highway. A valley and muskeg area would have to be crossed to reach both sites; to reach Site 3, Victor Lake would also need to be negotiated. Distances from airstrip and highway to Sites 2 and 3 are greater than they are for Site 1; to link them would entail lengthier and more costly road construction.





Consulting engineers have made a preliminary investigation of the proposed sites. With regard to drainage, water supply, sewage disposal and general engineering problems (e.g. soil conditions), they consider Site 1 as most suitable for development. Clearance of tree cover would also not be unduly costly. An adequate water supply should be readily available in the vicinity of the site. Four sources have been investigated: Victor Lake, Sulphur River, Grande Cache Lake and Smoky River. All could provide good water. Most reliable and least costly would probably be Grande Cache and Victor Lake. Supply from the two rivers would probably need more elaborate treatment before water from them could be used for domestic consumption. However, further study is needed before relative costs can be determined. The engineers also suggest that, before the exact location of the townsite is decided, more detailed study be made of the area, of soil conditions, and of probable costs of development.

However, on evidence already available, the sites here described may be regarded as the most suitable for new town development in the vicinity of the Smoky River coalfield. Site 1 in particular should be considered as a possible townsite because of its general suitability as such. The remaining two sites may serve as additional areas for some types of development if necessary, or as areas for any future expansion of the town.



population, an area of 50 acres would be required.

= 50 acres

(f) Industrial Use

Based on the ratio of industrial land to thousand persons in the similar town of Edson (13.7 per 1,000 persons) the amount of individual land required will be about 70 acres.

= 70 acres

(g) Other Uses

Incidental to the functions not defined above.

= 10 acres

Trailer Court (for initial construction purposes) and  
later as pure trailer court = approx. 25 acres

This average includes any additional streets and lanes required (one-half width included in adjoining land uses), but does not include the right of way for the new road. At the above standards, the gross density of the developed area of the town works out to be 9.9 persons per gross acre. This compares favourably with the average standard of 10 acres per thousand in a number of Alberta towns of similar size.



6. Analysis of Land Requirements

The area of land required for different uses in the new town with an ultimate population of 5,000 has been calculated as follows:

(a) Residential

Assuming a density of 4 houses per acre, gross acreage for 5,000 persons at 4.1 persons per house (as in new towns of Edson, Hinton and Whitecourt) will be about 300 acres.

(b) Commercial

Land required for commercial uses in the main commercial area (based on a standard of 3.1 acres for 1,000 people used in a number of United States' cities each of a population of less than 5,000: Bartholomew); and an average of 63.7 lineal feet per 100 population will be roughly 15 acres.

Highway Commercial = 5 acres

Total = 15 acres

(c) Educational

About 20 to 30 percent of the population of 5,000 may be in the school attendance age group (Department of Education). To cater for these the Department of Education (Province of Alberta) estimates an acreage of 20 to 25 acres would be required for school purposes (Elementary, Junior High and High Schools).

= 25 acres

(d) It is estimated by the Hospital Division that a 34 bed hospital in conjunction with a 10 bed nurses residence would be sufficient for a population of 5,000. This will require a minimum of 5 acres of land.

= 5 acres

(e) Parks, Playground and Other Public Uses

Based on the National Recreational Association Standard of 10 acres for each 1000 population and the average acreage used for parks, playgrounds and semi-public property in a number of American cities (Bartholomew), for the new town of Grand Cache having 5,000





## (ii) Possible Structure of the Ultimate Population

Single Males*	685
Married Males	1,030
Dependents of Married Males **	3,190
TOTAL	<hr/> 4,905

\* Single males includes widowed and divorced men, but excludes persons under 15 years old (who are not part of the labor force and may be classed as dependents). For calculation of housing land requirements, it is estimated that about 20 percent of these may be expected to live independently. The remainder may live - as lodgers or as part of the family - with married men and their families. This would mean about 150 males would need to be provided with separate accommodation. However, in tabulating land requirements, no allowance has been shown for these. This may be done on compilation of a final plan when ratio of high density to low density development is determined.

\*\* This is based on the average family size - 4.1 persons - in C.D. 14 and the towns of Edson, Hinton, Whitecourt and Drayton Valley.

An alternative estimate of the ultimate population, based on the labor force being 35 percent of the total population (as in C.D. 14) gives a total figure of 4,900 persons, almost the same as in the previous calculation. The total population some time after 1973 may be rounded off to 5,000 persons.

N.B.

It should be remembered that this allows for only one mining company's estimate of its labor force; if further companies were attracted to the town, or more industries than shown here developed, then ultimate population figures and hence land requirements would be higher. No attempt has been made to calculate such additional requirements in the absence of available data.



(a) Population Projections For The Town

The population estimates given here are for some time after 1973 when the labor force will have reached its possible ultimate strength, and the town's population will be more or less stabilized. Data on labor force have been supplied by companies who might be concerned with specific developments: Calgary Power Ltd., thermal power plant operations; McIntyre Porcupine Mines Ltd., coal mining; and MacMillan, Bloedel and Powell, and North Western Pulp and Power Ltd., pulp mill operation. Estimates of the population structure are based on the 1961 Census, the area used for comparative purposes being Census Division 14 which contains the towns of Edson, Hinton and Whitecourt, and within which the new town may lie.

## (i) Labor Force

Occupation	Numbers of Men Involved		
	1970	1973	Ultimate
Coal Mining	700	900	1,100
Possible Pulp Mill Operation	-	200	200
Possible Thermal Power Plant Operation	40	40	70
Service Employment*	+185	285	345
Total	925	1,425	1,715

---

\* Service employment includes sales, services and recreation, and transportation and communications. Numbers are based on the percentage of labor force so employed - approximately 20 percent - in the towns of Edson, Hinton, Whitecourt, Fort McMurray and Drayton Valley.



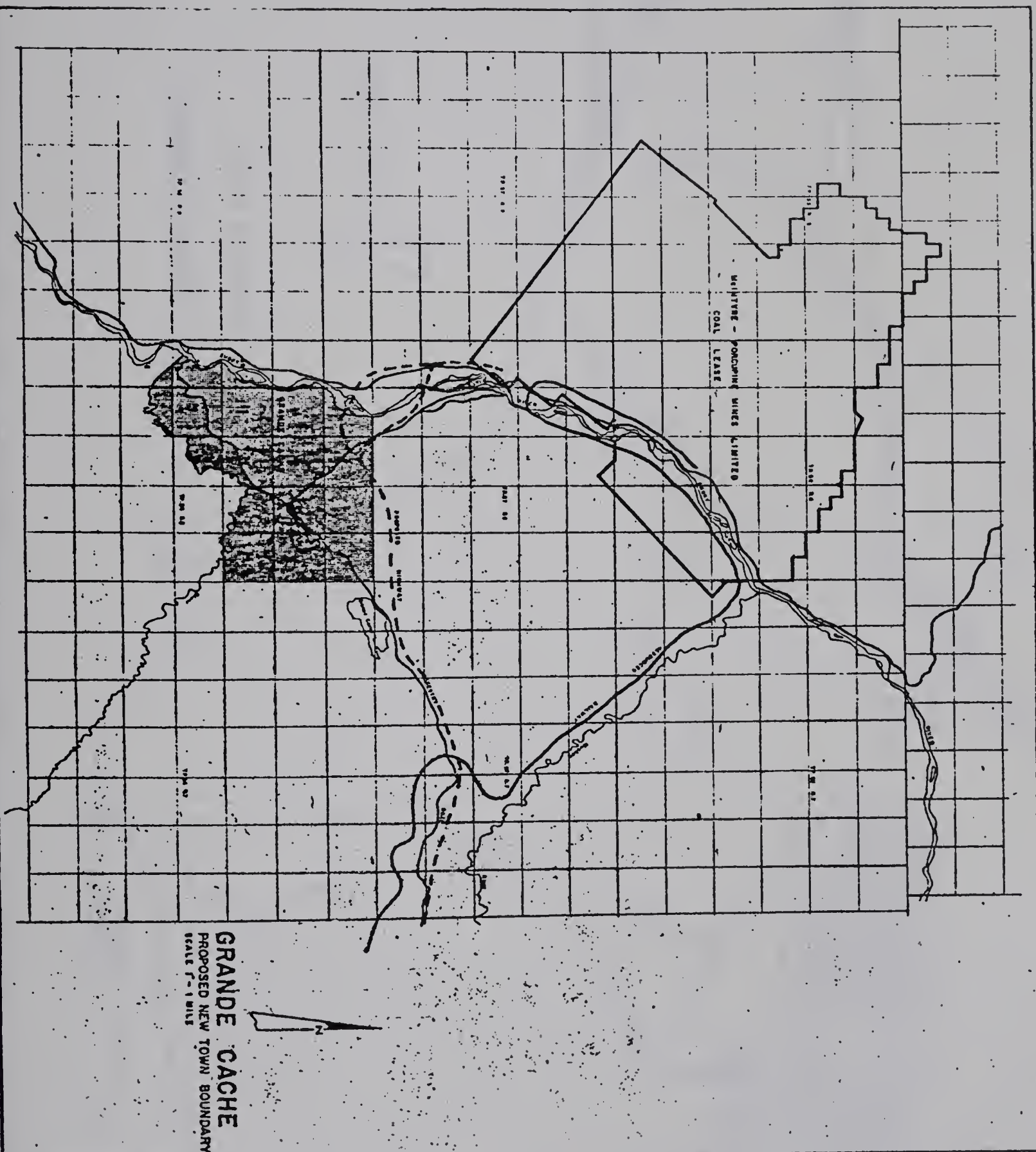
i. Summary Of  
Land Required

<u>Use</u>	<u>Area in Acres</u> (gross)
Residential	300
Commercial	
(a) Commercial	15
(b) Highway Commercial	5
Educational	25
Medical	5
Public, Playground and Other	
Public Uses	50
Industrial	70
Other Uses	35
Total Acreage	505*

\* This also includes the residential streets, lanes, walkways, service lanes etc.



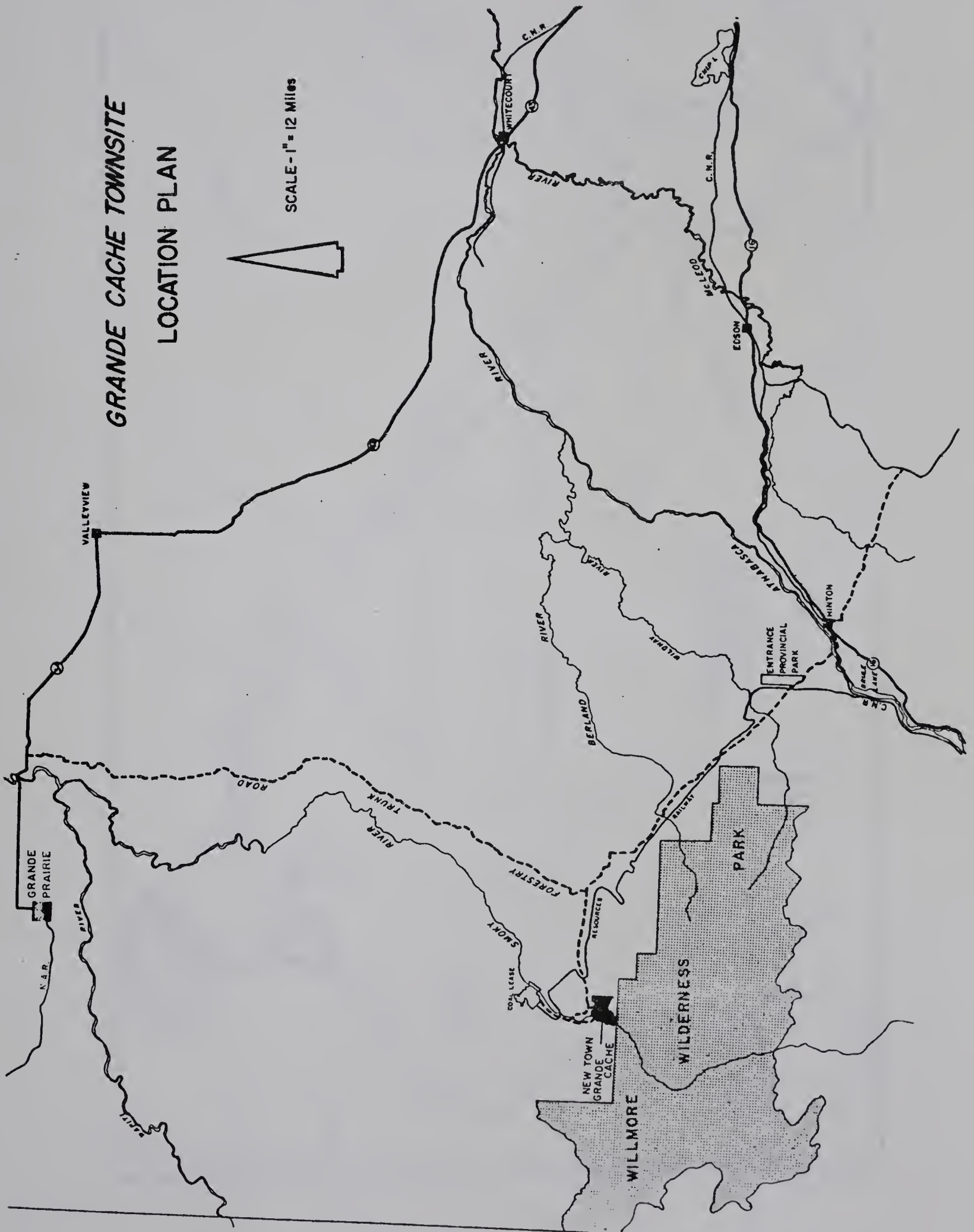




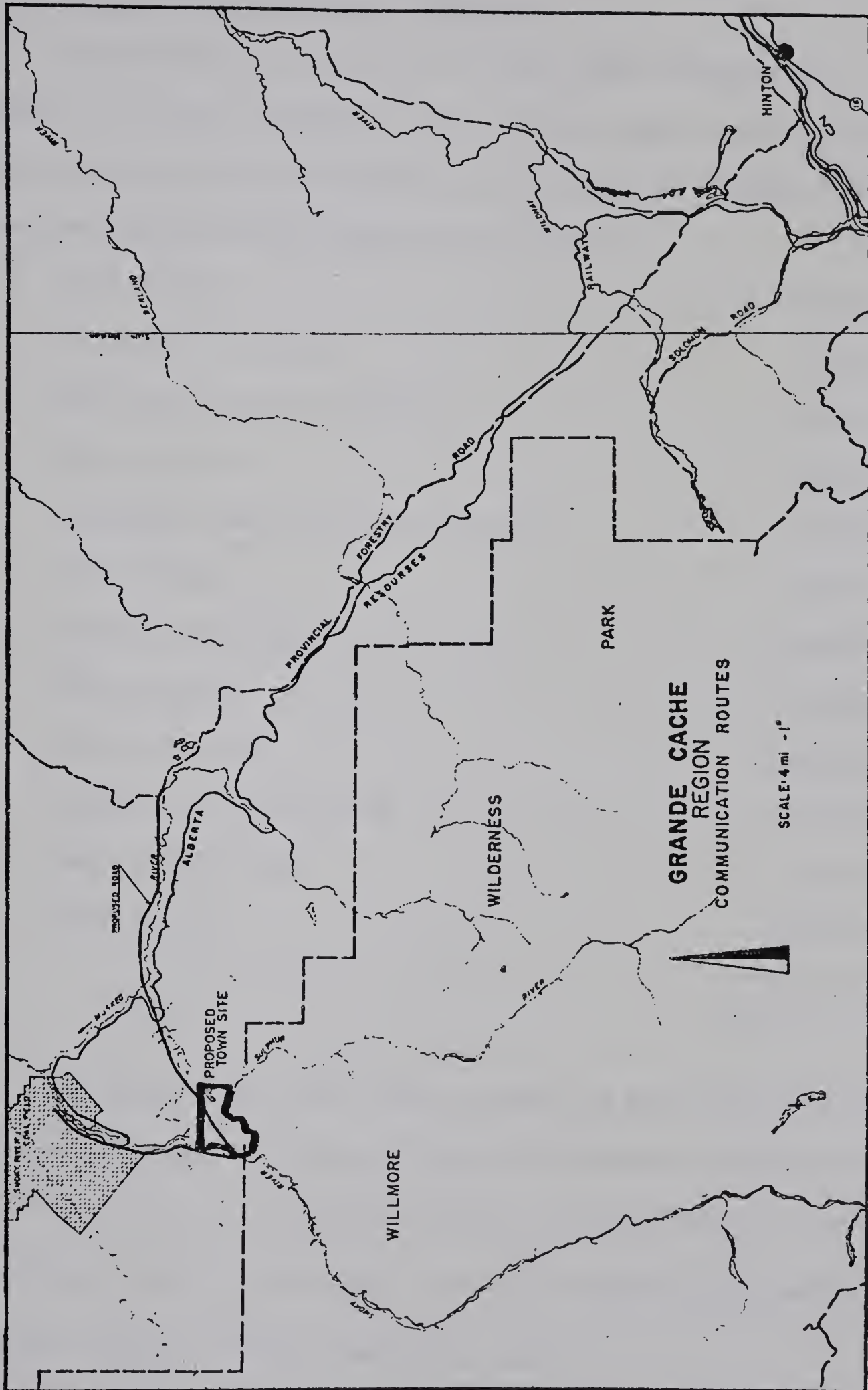


# GRANDE CACHE TOWNSITE LOCATION PLAN

SCALE - 1" = 12 Miles











5. COSTS OF ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TOWN

Approximations on the cost for the 5,000 residents with 1,000 single family residences, commercial area, trailer court, multi-family residences and industrial area are based on the expenditures of other New Towns (enclosed table) and are summarized as follows:

Land Costs	\$ 64,000
Clearing o streets	20,000
Road Construction (60,000')	500,000
Curb and Gutter	220,000
Sidewalks (one side of street only)	120,000
Water Supply	160,000
Water Distribution	400,000
Water Storage	150,000
Water Treatment	200,000
Sewage Collection System	200,000
Sewer Outfall Line	60,000
Storm Sewer	400,000
	<hr/>
TOTAL	\$2,714,000

The calculations given above provide for more services than calculation given on the attached table and therefore account for the increase in the total cost. The figures, however, do not include cost of administration (Town office and Fire Hall, etc.) fire fighting equipment and costs of other services (school, hospitals, etc.).



- (a) On the basis that McIntyre Porcupine Mines Ltd. proceed with the development of the coal resources, there will be need to commence providing the services and facilities of an urban centre in 1967. On the basis only of the McIntyre Porcupine operations the population of the New Town would reach 4,000 in 1973 and ultimately with additional economic developments could reach 5,000. The first requirement will be to accommodate a total population of about 3,500 people in 1970.
- (b) The site recommended for development is about eight miles south of the mining operation and is the only one having good characteristics of slope, soil drainage, water supply and access and having space for expansion in the future anywhere in the district. For an ultimate population of 5,000, at least 500 acres of developable land will be required. The site selected contains 1,500 to 1,600 acres and therefore would allow some latitude for the future and also in the exact location and layout of the first stages of development.
- (c) On the basis of costs incurred at High Level, Whitecourt, Swan Hills, and Fort McMurray, it is anticipated (1966 construction costs) that to purchase and clean the land, construct roads, provide for water supply, storage and treatment and for the removal of sewerage that it would involve the following costs.

5,000 population - \$2,714,000

Allowance would have to be made for possible increases in costs due to the remoteness of the site and rises in the cost of living.



- (a) That the "New Town of Grande Cache" be established effective 1st September, 1966.
- (b) That the boundaries of the New Town include in unsurveyed Township 57, Range 8, West of the 6th Meridian:

All of Sections 2, 3, 4 and all that portion of Section 5 which lies to the east of the centre line of Smoky River, and

In unsurveyed Township 56, Range 8, West of the 6th Meridian:

All of Sections 20, 29, 33, 34, 35 and all those portions of Sections 17, 18, 19, 21, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, and 32 which lie to the east of the centre line of Smoky River and to the north of the centre line of Sulphur River and all road allowances as herein before set out.

- (c) The Board of Administrators be appointed by the Lieutenant Governor in Council in the following manner:
1. Two members, one of whom shall be Chairman of the Board, and both of whom shall be public servants of the Province.
  2. At a later date such other public servants and local residents as he may be pleased to appoint.
- (d) The Board of Administrators shall make recommendations at the appropriate time in respect of
- (i) the holding of an election and
  - (ii) the advisability of reconstituting the Board of Administrators to increase the number of members to be elected by the electors of the new town.
- (e) Before an election takes place, that the Lieutenant Governor in Council make regulations, in accordance with Section 6(3) of the New Towns Act, specifying the terms to be served by the elected members of the Board of Administrators.
- (f) In accordance with the provisions of Section 20 of the New Towns Act, the planning and development proposals for the New Town be prepared by officers and servants of the Provincial Planning Board.





APPENDIX VI  
PRELIMINARY ENGINEERING REPORT  
ON TOWNSITE



PRELIMINARY ENGINEERING REVIEW  
OF THE  
TENTATIVE SITE LOCATION  
FOR THE  
NEW TOWN OF GRAND CACHE, ALBERTA

Prepared for  
Provincial Planning Board,  
Department of Municipal Affairs

Respectfully submitted,  
ASSOCIATED ENGINEERING SERVICES LTD.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'B.A. Ellis', with a stylized flourish at the end.

B.A. Ellis, P.Eng.  
August 18, 1966



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- Sulphur River	





PRELIMINARY ENGINEERING REVIEW  
OF THE  
TENTATIVE SITE LOCATION  
FOR THE  
NEW TOWN OF GRAND CACHE, ALBERTA

OBJECT

The object of this report is to present the results of a preliminary on site examination of the proposed areas that have been tentatively selected as possible locations for the new townsite of Grand Cache.

Water samples were obtained from the several possible sources to determine the most suitable to provide the quantity and quality to meet the ultimate development requirements.

The area was examined considering the overall drainage pattern and the feasibility of locating sewage treatment and disposal works.

AUTHORITY

Authority for the preliminary on site examination was received from the Provincial Planning Director, in whose company the site was visited on Thursday, July 28, 1966.



The Grand Cache area was visited by helicopter from Whitecourt on July 28, 1966 to examine the three site locations that had been tentatively selected for the new townsite.

The area was completely surveyed from the air and subsequently the major portion of the three areas was traversed on foot.

The site areas under consideration are designated 1, 2 and 3 on the plan prepared by the Provincial Planning Board and included in their report.

Site No. 1, located at a higher elevation than either of the other sites, is more completely covered with trees and general growth. The most suitable area for the development in this site would appear to be the north and northwest, as the land rises to a summit and slopes off to provide an area that may be considered for drainage and disposal.

There is a depression toward the southern limit of this site and it rises again beyond the draw and then is depressed to the level of the aircraft landing field at Victor Lake the south boundary of the site.

Site No. 2, southwest of No. 1, is wooded, interdispersed with muskeg and at a lower elevation. It appears that the terrain in this area would be considerably more difficult to develop because of the non uniform slopes of the land created by the steep banks and depressions. This site is bounded on the south by the Sulphur River, on the west by the Smoky River and on the northeast by a valley and muskeg area.

Site No. 3 or the third alternative was noted to be a smaller area and not considered of suitable size to develop a townsite and it is separated by a considerable amount of muskeg and a valley.





In considering a source of water supply for the sites there are several alternatives

namely, Victor Lake, Sulphur River, Grand Cache Lake and the Smoky River and water samples were taken from each to be chemically analyzed. Initially Grand Cache Lake and Victor Lake appear to present the first possibilities of good water supply. Victor Lake is small and appears to be very shallow. A final decision on the selection of this site would be predicated on the Lake being completely sounded to determine whether or not there would be an all-year-round water supply. The local residents report that Victor Lake has a lot of weed and algae growth in the late summer and has no outlet. Grand Cache Lake appears to provide the most reliable source for domestic water supply with the exception that it is approximately three miles from the proposed townsite in Site No. 1. The Sulphur River is a rapidly flowing stream and would provide an adequate quantity of water supply for the townsite but it is considered that this source may require a major expenditure for development. There is a possible dam site on this river that could be developed for storage but detailed costs have not been worked out at this time. The Smoky River lies in a deep valley on the westerly limits of the proposed sites and it is considered that expensive and elaborate water storage treatment facilities would be required to make this water suitable for domestic consumption.

All the sources examined are chemically suitable for a domestic water supply but may require some degree of treatment to meet the requirements of the Department of Public Health.

The soil conditions in the area appear to be glacial clay interdispersed with gravel and rock up to six inches in size. A small quantity of gravel was in evidence in the general area of the landing field. Detailed soil studies and foundation investigation will be required before any major works are considered for the area.





On the basis of the preliminary on site investigation it is considered that Site No. 1 will provide an area of sufficient size to develop a townsite for an ultimate population of 6,000 people.

An adequate water supply could be developed from one of the alternatives examined. The topography of the site appears to slope in a general direction that will provide economical sewage treatment and disposal works and meet the requirements of the Provincial Department of Health and provide an overall drainage pattern for the collection and disposal of surface run-off and storm water.

The main access road from the proposed highway could be designed to provide access from the north.

We recommend that Site No. 1 be considered as the most favourable and prior to the final decision being made on the exact location of the townsite within the proposed boundaries that a detailed on site topographical field survey and soils investigation and detailed foundation study be undertaken.

With the results of such investigations and studies the detailed planning and development and cost estimates will be more accurately determined.



In considering a source of water supply for the sites there are several alternatives namely, Victor Lake, Sulphur River, Grand Cache Lake and the Smoky River and water samples were taken from each to be chemically analyzed. Initially Grand Cache Lake and Victor Lake appear to present the first possibilities of good water supply. Victor Lake is small and appears to be very shallow. A final decision on the selection of this site would be predicated on the Lake being completely sounded to determine whether or not there would be an all-year-round water supply. The local residents report that Victor Lake has a lot of weed and algae growth in the late summer and has no outlet. Grand Cache Lake appears to provide the most reliable source for domestic water supply with the exception that it is approximately three miles from the proposed townsite in Site No. 1. The Sulphur River is a rapidly flowing stream and would provide an adequate quantity of water supply for the townsite but it is considered that this source may require a major expenditure for development. There is a possible dam site on this river that could be developed for storage but detailed costs have not been worked out at this time. The Smoky River lies in a deep valley on the westerly limits of the proposed sites and it is considered that expensive and elaborate water storage treatment facilities would be required to make this water suitable for domestic consumption.

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APPENDIX VII  
WATER POLLUTION REPORTS





Date Sampled: July 28, 1966 Date Received: \_\_\_\_\_ Date Tested: August 1, 1966Description: Some suspended vegetable matter, musty taste.

VALUE	8.2			
TRATIONS	(ml)		(ml)	
P Reading	-			
M "	9.1			
T.H. "	8.5			
Ca "	5.1			
Cl "				
CONCENTRATIONS	(mg/l)	(epm)	(mg/l)	(epm)
Hydroxide (OH)				
Carbonate (CO <sub>3</sub> )				
Bicarbonate (HCO <sub>3</sub> )	222	3.64		
Sulphate (SO <sub>4</sub> )	21	0.44		
Chloride (Cl)	2	0.06		
TOTAL ALKALINITY (As CaCO <sub>3</sub> )	182			
TOTAL HARDNESS "	170			
Calcium Hardness "	102			
Magnesium Hardness "	68			
CALCIUM (Ca)	40.8	2.04		
MAGNESIUM (Mg)	16.5	1.36		
IRON (Fe)				
SODIUM (Na)				
COLOR	2			
TURBIDITY				
APPEARANCE	clear and bright			

HYPOTHETICAL COMBINATIONS: \_\_\_\_\_



Sampled: July 28, 1966 Date Received: Date Tested: August 1, 1966

Description: No suspended matter, good taste.

VALUE				
CONCENTRATIONS		(ml)		(ml)
Reading		1.3		
"		9.8		
"		8.8		
"		4.2		
"		-		
CONCENTRATIONS		(mg/l)	(epm)	(mg/l)
Hydroxide (OH)				
Carbonate (CO <sub>3</sub> )				
Bicarbonate (HCO <sub>3</sub> )		239	3.92	
Sulphate (SO <sub>4</sub> )		7	0.15	
Chloride (Cl)		4	0.11	
TOTAL ALKALINITY (As CaCO <sub>3</sub> )		196		
TOTAL HARDNESS	"	176		
Calcium Hardness	"	84		
Magnesium Hardness	"	92		
CALCIUM (Ca)		33.6	1.68	
MAGNESIUM (Mg)		22.4	1.84	
IRON (Fe)				
SODIUM (Na)				
COLOUR		4		
TURBIDITY				
APPEARANCE		clear and bright		

HYPOTHETICAL COMBINATIONS:



r:

Sampled: July 28, 1966 Date Received: Date Tested: August 1, 1966

Description: No suspended matter, good taste, some opalescence

VALUE	8.3			
CONCENTRATIONS	(ml)		(ml)	
P Reading	0.5			
M "	6.2			
T.H. "	9.0			
Ca "	5.5			
Cl "	-			
CONCENTRATIONS	(mg/l)	(epm)	(mg/l)	(epm)
Hydroxide (OH)				
Carbonate (CO <sub>3</sub> )				
Bicarbonate (HCO <sub>3</sub> )	151	2.48		
Sulphate (SO <sub>4</sub> )	50	1.04		
Chloride (Cl)	2.5	0.07		
TOTAL ALKALINITY (As CaCO <sub>3</sub> )	124			
TOTAL HARDNESS "	180			
Calcium Hardness "	110			
Magnesium Hardness "	70			
CALCIUM (Ca)	44	2.5		
MAGNESIUM (Mg)	17	1.4		
IRON (Fe)				
SODIUM (Na)				
COLOR	7			
TURBIDITY				
APPEARANCE	clear and bright			

HYPOTHETICAL COMBINATIONS:

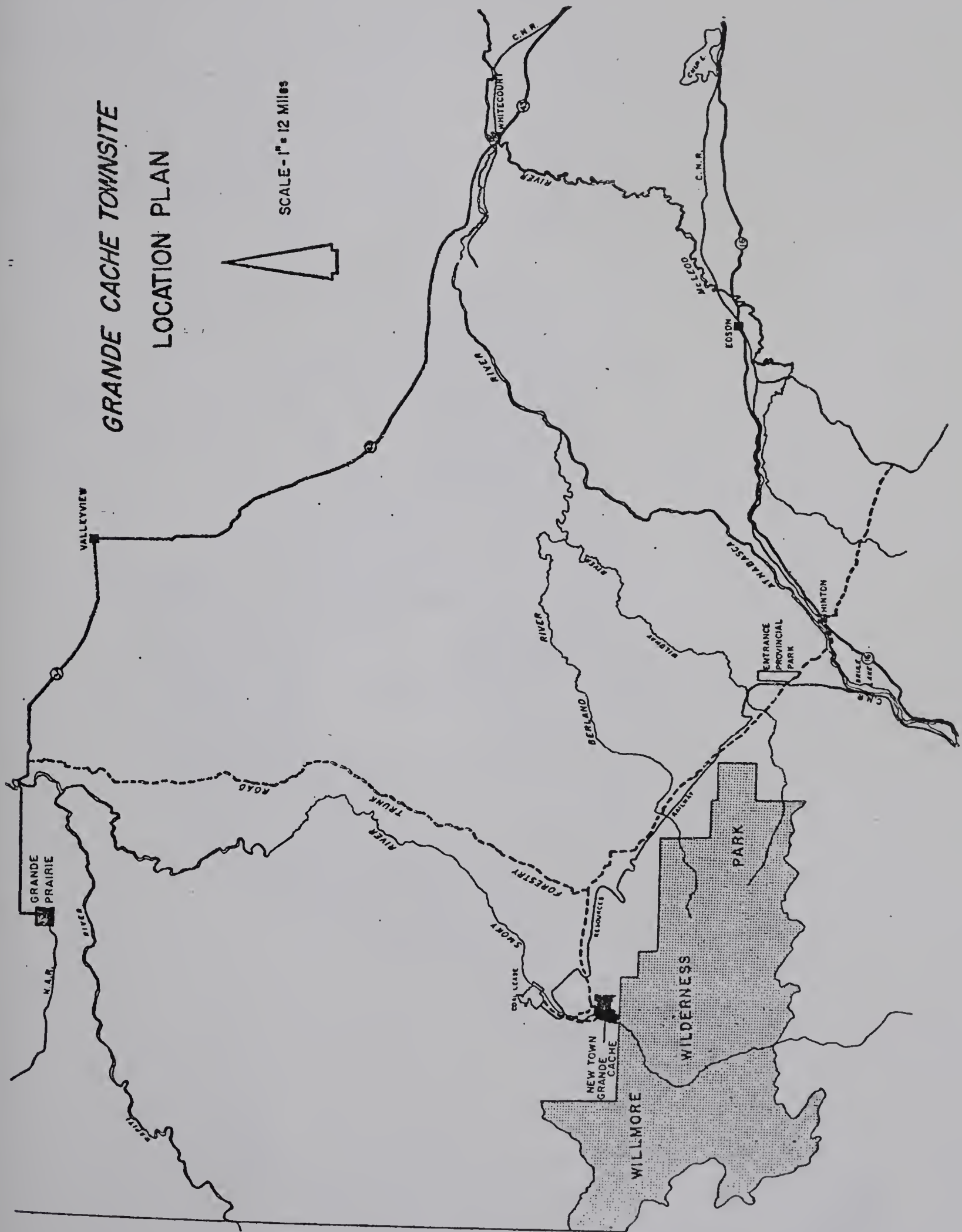




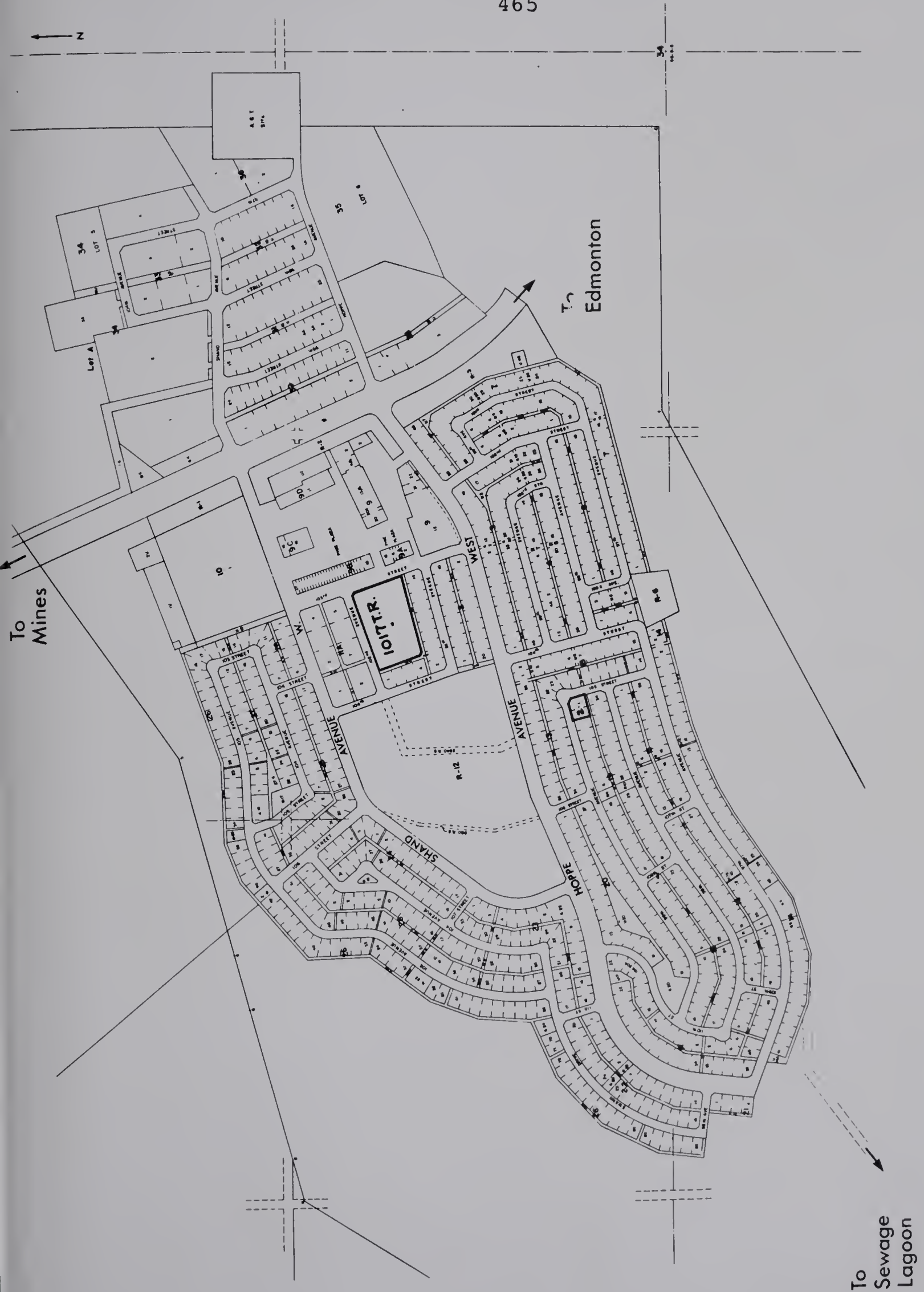


# GRANDE CACHE TOWNSITE LOCATION PLAN

SCALE - 1" = 12 Miles











**B30196**